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THE TEACHING OF OUR RECENT ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES.

THE teaching of the recent economic experiences of the United States ought to prove most instructive to all its citizens, and more especially to those to whom the control and direction of the educational forces of the country have been entrusted. These experiences may be briefly summed up by saying that probably no other country has ever incurred in so short a time such an amount of financial and industrial disturbance and disaster; the effect of which, expressed in terms of money-loss, aggregates hundreds of millions of dollars, and finds illustration in part in the following particulars.

The national Treasury, of late years so overflowing with surplus revenues that millions of dollars ($21,458,718 in 1890 and 1891) were given for the privilege of simply anticipating the payment of debts funded at low rates of interest, now faces the certainty, independent of any change in the methods or rates of taxation, of an annual deficit of necessary revenue of something like $30,000,000. A decrease in the gross earnings of the railroads of the country from May to October inclusive, of at least $30,000,000; of which $12,053,000, or, eliminating the World's Fair business, $20,000,000, occurred in the month of August alone. The loss occasioned by destruction of property by fires in 1893, in excess of that experienced in the previous year, and undoubtedly in a large degree the result of incendiarism contingent on hard times, is estimated at $25,000,000. Between the 4th of May and the 12th of July, deposits to the amount of $194,000,000 were withdrawn from the national banks alone. Between

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the 4th of May and the 3d of October these withdrawals amounted to $378,000,000,—$299,000,000 by individuals, and $79,000,000 by banks and bankers. And if to this sum the withdrawals which occurred in like proportion from savings banks, State banks, trust companies, and private banks be added, the aggregate would undoubtedly exceed $500,000,000. To meet this drain, the national banks were compelled to call in loans to the extent of $318,000,000; and all the other banking institutions of the country pursued a similar policy. This concurrent action constituted the most remarkable feature of the recent remarkable economic experience under consideration. It probably finds no exact parallel in all economic history. It greatly intensified adverse influences which before operated gradually; paralyzed the whole industrial system of the country, by annihilating for the time being a great deal of its machinery of exchange, and making commercial credit well-nigh impossible; and entailed losses of such magnitude that long years in the case of any other nation would have been necessary to effect even moderate recuperation. Between January 1 and October 31 (but mainly in the three months of July, August, and September), 154 national banks, 181 State banks, 49 savings banks, 188 private banks, and 13 loan and trust companies —or an aggregate of 585 banks or banking institutions—suspended payment, with liabilities of $169,000,000. But, of this aggregate, the suspension of 171 was temporary, and the outcome of an unreasoning insistence that perfectly solvent institutions should liquidate on demand. During the period above named, over $1,200,000,000 of the railroad property of the country was placed in the hands of receivers. During the first six months of 1893 the receipts of revenue by the Federal Government were greater by more than $10,000,000 than for the same time in 1892; but during the months of July, August, September, and October, 1893, there was a decrease of more than $27,000,000 as compared with the receipts of the corresponding months of the preceding year. The number of failures for the year 1893 will exceed 16,000, as compared with 12,000, the largest number ever before reported in any one year. The aggregate of these contingent liabilities will probably exceed $460,000,000, as compared with a maximum of about $200,000,000 in any one year since 1857. The loss to the farmers of the United States by the forced sale of their wheat to Europe at panic prices, through the inability of the banks of the country to supply money to its owners, that they might hold their product for better times and markets,—more than

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60,000,000 bushels from a comparatively small crop having been exported during the months of July, August, and September,—may not perhaps admit of definite statement, but was certainly a large sum in the aggregate. The extreme stagnation of trade, especially in respect to the distribution of commodities by retail dealers, and the losses contingent on the same, was also one of the most remarkable features of the situation. Rarely if ever before were so small stocks of almost every commodity which the American people have regarded as the essentials of good living, carried by the smaller distributors, whose policy may be ascribed to a prompt recognition of the fact that these same people had suddenly, and as if by preconcert, ceased to purchase and consume at the rate they had been maintaining for many years; and that, by the withdrawal of their funds from banks and other financial institutions, all trade and credit was being subjected to great restrictions. In the case of sugar, the judgment of those fully competent to form an opinion is that the consumption of the country fell off during the months of July and August to the extent of thirty-three per cent; leaving a stock in the hands of the principal refiners during the latter month, for which there was absolutely no demand, of fully 400,000 barrels. In the case of one large western city, the stock of refined sugars in the hands of its local dealers was so far diminished during the month of August, that when the ordinary demand recurred during the succeeding month, it was for a brief time almost impossible for local consumers to obtain this commodity under any conditions. The only two commodities in general use which show an increase in consumption during the three months next after July 1, 1893, as indicated by the payment of internal-revenue taxes, were beer and cigarettes. There was a gain in respect to the former at the rate of $160,000 a year, as compared with a gain of about $2,500,000 for the previous year. The increase in respect to the latter was very small ($48,462) in comparison with the decrease in the receipts from cigars ($3,830,000) during the same period. Smoking and chewing tobacco are so cheap in the United States, that any large decrease in their use in consequence of the depression of business was not to be anticipated; but the falling off in internal revenue from the taxes on these articles in the three months above mentioned, was nearly $1,100,000.

Finally, in order to make this summary complete, there must be added the losses incurred by the owners of shops and factories who were obliged to suspend operations; and, above all, by the thousands

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of men and women, representing every form and grade of labor, who, by reason of widespread limitations of their usual opportunities for employment, were unable for considerable periods to earn wages. To state specifically in terms of money how great those losses have been in the aggregate, is not possible; but few who have made the matter a subject of investigation will doubt that *a thousand millions of dollars*, or more than one-third of the amount of the national debt at the close of the war, would be an under rather than an over-estimate. But, be this as it may, it is at least certain that the aggregate of these losses, by whatever method measured or expressed, was very great; and, further, that their burden fell most grievously and disproportionately upon that portion of the population of the United States which was least able to bear it,—namely, those who depend upon each day's earnings to meet each day's needs.

The question that next and naturally suggests itself is, To what is such an extraordinary, and in a great degree unprecedented, state of affairs to be attributed? It is not proposed here to attempt an analysis—even if it were practicable—of all the agencies that may, in a greater or less degree, have been effective in producing it; but certain things most pertinent to the subject, and helping to a correct understanding of it, may be affirmed with confidence.

In the first place, the immediate and principal cause was, beyond all question, a distrust of the very foundation on which the whole superstructure of the trade and credit of the country rests; namely, its currency. Other nations have had contemporaneous severe financial and industrial disturbances. Indeed, a wave of such disturbances, precipitated by the suspension of the great banking house of the Barings, seems to have been passing over the world for the last few years; but no nation or country has had anything analogous to what the United States has experienced during the past year, or in fact any serious financial disturbance from like causes.[1]

[1] There is, however, some reason for supposing that the fiscal policy of the United States may have been indirectly, but to a large extent, the occasion of this wave of disturbance, a considerable time before this same policy became the prime cause of the wholly anomalous disturbance in the United States under consideration. Thus, there is almost a consensus among banker that after the certain ultimate effects of the Bland Bill, enacted in 1878, had become generally recognized, and more especially after the passage of the Sherman Compromise Silver Act in 1890, foreign capital, which had previously flowed in large volumes into the United States, and had greatly aided in developing the resources of the country, was less readily obtainable, or, if invested in securities, was

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In the Dominion of Canada, for example, separated territorially from us on the north by an imaginary line, there has been no panic, no unusual demand for money, no stoppage of industries, no restriction of trade, no increased rate of interest; in short, nothing beyond the ordinary course of events, except so far as these events may have been influenced by contiguity to what may be termed a financial cyclone, whose pathway of destruction was contiguous, but not within its own territory. In Mexico also, on our southern border, although one of its great industrial products, silver, has been greatly depreciated in market value, the credit of the country was never higher than during the past year, nor its general industrial condition more promising. In the Argentine Republic, where reckless and disastrous land speculation and bad fiscal management on the part of the government have produced national bankruptcy, trade during the past twelve months has been rapidly reviving, and private credits have been largely maintained.

Again, while money at all the financial centres of the United States has commanded for months exorbitant and unnatural rates of interest, and at times was almost unobtainable under any conditions, in the markets of England, separated from us by less than six days' communication by mail, and only a few minutes by cable intelligence, the supply of loanable capital has been so concurrently abundant that "money," as the expression goes, "has gone a-begging" for use at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent interest. In fact, the mass of the people of all foreign countries have been almost wholly indifferent to what has recently occurred in the United States, while the interest of the comparatively few that have not been indifferent has been that of observers watching at a safe distance experiments with dangerous explosives; or it has been concentrated on the single thought of how our extraordinary financial theories and their accompanying industrial disasters might be used to promote their individual speculative ad-

steadily withdrawn. What the United States (where the complaint is always general that capital is scarce and insufficient for the needs of its people) repelled, was eagerly sought by other countries; and a resulting plethora of unemployed capital in Europe greatly facilitated the investment of enormous amounts in the Argentine Republic of South America, and in Australia, in which latter country four millions of people are reported to have been able to publicly or privately borrow about two thousand millions of dollars. As a rule, these investments were disastrous, and, involving, as they did, the ruin of one of the oldest and greatest banking houses in Europe, produced a world-wide commercial, industrial, and financial depression, which is still continuous, but by reason of which the United States has been less injuriously affected than any other country.

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vantage. In short, the evidence is complete and unassailable that the disastrous economic experiences of the United States during the past year were, as respects origin and characteristic features, and in a national sense, purely local; and that any influences they exerted upon foreign countries were comparatively inconsiderable.

It is also equally capable of demonstration that the cause of this same disturbance was mainly artificial, and wholly unnecessary and unnatural; namely, as before pointed out, a distrust, on the part of the people of the United States, of the future of the money of their country, which distrust in turn was created by an artificial, unnecessary, and unnatural national fiscal policy. This proposition finds curious illustration and proof in the fact that the large withdrawals of deposits in banks, before noticed, did not seem to have been influenced or occasioned by a suspicion of unsoundness or mismanagement on the part of the banks; but rather by an almost universal sentiment on the part of depositors that it was expedient for them to get their money as quickly as possible into gold or its representative, and then bring it more under their individual control by placing it in safe-deposit vaults, or in other secure hiding-places. It may be further affirmed with entire truthfulness that if no silver mines so highly and cheaply productive, through natural and industrial conditions, as to be beyond all possibility of foreign competition, had ever been discovered in the United States, or, if discovered, had obtained no greater co-operation and favoritism on the part of the Federal Government than is enjoyed by the American miners of coal or ores of iron, or by the growers of cotton, wheat, or potatoes, there would never have been any silver problem to vex and impoverish the people of this country. And, further and more important than all else, if these same people had been educated up to a fair understanding of the origin, nature, and function of money,—information that every American boy ought thoroughly to acquire before entering upon manhood,—there would, apart from a few cranks and selfishly-interested mine-owners, never have been any essential differences of opinion as to what legislation was necessary or expedient to protect the interests of the people of the United States from any evil resulting from the great depreciation in value of one of the world's great monetary metals.

But the people have not been so educated; and, by reason of such default, the most appalling ignorance prevails in respect to the above and all other economic subjects; and not only among the masses, but among many who are filling important stations as legisla-

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tors, editors, and educational directors and teachers. And under such a condition of things it is almost hopeless to expect that fundamentally clear and correct ideas, or ideas remedial of specific evils, will ever be embodied in our financial or economic legislation; or that an end will be put to constantly recurring but needless losses to the nation—losses that each and every year represent more than the capitalized wealth of all its universities, colleges, and high schools; or that a stop will be put to needless inequalities in the distribution of wealth that in the midst of unparalleled natural abundance makes and keeps large masses of our people poor.

Doubtless a similar or greater ignorance characterizes the masses of the people of the most highly civilized nations of Europe; but the resulting influences are not the same as have manifested themselves in the United States. Thus, in these foreign countries it is rare that a person can be elected or appointed to any office or trust involving power to influence or shape the economic or fiscal policy of the state, without having previously demonstrated that by scholastic or business education he is abundantly qualified for his position. That the people of such countries, under conditions—natural and governmental—similar or identical with those that prevail in the United States, might act differently, is altogether probable. But in states burdened with debts, with the power of taxation strained to the uttermost, with insufficient food supplies of domestic origin, and fierce antagonisms from without, involving not merely trade but sovereignty, rulers and people alike are little tolerant of amateur economic or financial experimentation. How little regard, on the other hand, the people of the United States have for economic and financial knowledge and experience as a qualification for legislative or judicial service in respect to that large class of subjects which, under our new and changing conditions of civilization, come closer to the well-being of the state and its citizens than any others, admits of abundant examples and illustrations. Thus, it would be impossible to find a parallel in modern times, in any European country, of a member of long service in the highest branch of the national legislature, and to whom qualification for high judicial office has been popularly conceded, soberly putting forth in a public speech such an absurd economic proposition as the following: that "while everybody pays taxes in the North, nine-tenths of the one tax the South pays" (*i.e.*, for the support of the Federal Government) "is the whiskey tax and a little on tobacco"; leaving it to be inferred that, by reason of geo-

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graphical situation or some mental idiosyncrasy, the people of a large section of a common country did not as a rule consume any other commodities than whiskey and a little tobacco, and so escaped a proportionate share of the burden of the taxes on commodities from which a common government mainly derives its great annual revenues. If sitting as a judge, what sort of judicial opinions in review of complicated tax questions could be expected from one so manifestly ignorant of the most elementary principles of taxation?

In what other country than the United States, since the days when the kings of mediæval Europe debased their coinage, and then, by investing the resulting base and cheap product, termed money, with legal-tender attributes, robbed their subjects by compelling them to accept it at a false valuation in payment of debts that the Crown had previously contracted, could a court of the highest judicature be found to decide that, under a Constitution "ordained to establish justice," the law-making assemblage, created by that same Constitution, was empowered to work wrong akin to robbery by enacting that the tender of anything "which the law shall recognize as money" —irrespective of any intrinsic value, be it dried leaves, bits of leather, or promises to pay which were not paid—shall be good and sufficient payment in discharge of all obligations of indebtedness?[1] The judgment of a higher court, however, namely, that of universal human nature, has decided that it is not conceivable that articles possessing no intrinsic value should be exchangeable at will for other articles having such intrinsic value; and the most primitive savage is not primitive enough to entertain any other opinion.

Not less remarkable were the judicial announcements in the same opinion, that it is incorrect "to speak of a standard of value"; that "value is an ideal thing"; that the gold and silver thing we call a dollar is "in no sense the standard of a dollar," but only "a representative of it"; and that "there might never have been a piece of money of the denomination of a dollar." That there is no impropriety in characterizing these opinions as remarkable would seem to be warranted by the fact that they embodied two great discoveries in mental philosophy and political economy which the world had not heretofore recognized. The first discovery was that there can be a representative without something to represent. In the case of Peter Schlemihl,

[1] "The obligation of a contract to pay money is to pay that which the law shall recognize as money when the payment is to be made."—*Opinion of the United States Supreme Court, 1870,* 12 Wallace, p. 553.

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there was a man without a shadow; but in the eye of the court there could be a shadow without any substance to make it. The second discovery is that "value is an ideal thing"; from which it legitimately follows that imagination, which creates all ideal things, can create values. The people of the United States were therefore warranted in assuming that, in order to have and enjoy anything, it was necessary only to create and use its symbol or representative; and that, to pay for value received, it was only necessary to imagine a corresponding and equivalent value, and then pass it over in exchange and settlement. But, as the people did not make an attempt to carry out any such assumption, it is clear that, in common with the students of mental philosophy and men of business experience all over the world, they did not regard the discoveries of the court as having any practical importance.

Among no small part of the people of the United States and the men they select to represent them in Congress, there is a feeling of hostility against banks which finds no parallel in any other civilized country; and the conception also of bankers entertained by them is analogous to that held of the Jews in the Middle Ages, namely, "that they were malevolent beings with diabolical attributes, hoarding great sacks of gold, which they lent only at usurious interest." Such sentiments are undoubtedly due to a popular misunderstanding, or rather to no understanding at all, of this subject. Banks and bankers are, however, essential to civilization, and will continue to exist if people are to continue civilized. It is indeed difficult to conceive how the problem of providing means for defraying the cost of the great enterprises of modern times, whether they be military, industrial, municipal, or engineering, could have been solved except through the agency of banks and bankers; and there is no one change that more strikingly illustrates the great gulf which separates the present from the not-distant past than the change that has taken place in the methods of providing loans of money (capital) for public or private uses. Banks improperly organized and ignorantly or wrongfully managed are unquestionably evils of a most serious character; but there is no necessity for the existence of such banks in the United States unless the people will it. In Scotland, a country where there are great inequalities in the possession and distribution of wealth, but where the people are very shrewd ("canny") in respect to worldly matters, and the leaders of public opinion most intelligent in respect to economic and financial matters, a system of banking exists which

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practically gives to every considerable town the facilities of a bank, and is almost universally acknowledged to aid the promotion of every financial and industrial interest of the people and their country. Is there anything but lack of intelligence and the existence of unfounded prejudices which prevent the United States from having an equally advantageous system of banking? The establishment of a sound bank in those districts of this country where public sentiment is most opposed to banks, and where there is great lack of loanable capital, would be one of the greatest of blessings. The similitude between the establishment of a reservoir which shall augment a deficient supply of water in any district, and the establishment of a bank which shall remedy a deficient supply of capital or of the mediums of exchange in any community, is perfect in respect to their contingent benefits; but this truth is not generally recognized.

The disposition of local taxation constitutes a problem that at present largely occupies the attention of the legislatures of our several States, and is found by them most difficult of solution; and yet very few—perhaps none—of the men entrusted with the initiating and enactment of laws on this subject ever recognize that it would be difficult to name a single form or species of taxation—including even the single tax on land proposed by Mr. George—that has not somewhere and at some time been substantially tried; and that a knowledge of the resulting experience might help to the avoidance of old errors.

In what other country, again, but the United States, could men with reputation for statesmanship be found who would assert and teach, and find multitudes to believe, that the taxes which a country imposes on its imports are not paid by its people who consume them? If, however, it is really true that a discovery has been made in these latter days, that one country can impose taxes for its own exclusive benefit, and transfer the burden of them to the people of other countries with whom it has commercial intercourse, it is most singular that the statesmen of other countries and ages, who have sounded all the depths and shoals of taxation, should not long ago have recognized it. It is clear also, that, since the United States cannot patent the discovery, all other countries will be free and certain to adopt it; and, as the exports and imports of all countries substantially balance, the one positive economic effect of the universal adoption of the new scheme will be to create a reciprocal exchange of tax burdens, which will add to the expenses and complications of all international trade,

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and practically benefit no one. Again, if an importer cannot recoup himself in the sale of his imports by including the customs (taxes) in their price, it is certain that there will be no material advance in the prices of imported commodities, and the whole theory of protection to American industry through increase in the price of imports by tariff taxation falls to the ground.

That an income tax is theoretically one of the most equitable forms of taxation may be admitted; and, starting on this basis, its adoption by the Federal Government as a method of raising revenue finds favor with many who are entrusted with the work of legislation and the administration of the government; and yet it seems hardly open to dispute that a general income tax, with such inquisitorial features as are essential to make it effective as a revenue measure, cannot be successfully administered under a free and popular form of government. On this point the comparatively recent experience of the United States, which few now remember, ought to be most instructive. Thus, in 1869, under a Federal law assessing all incomes in excess of $1,000, and with a corps of trained officials to execute it, only 254,617 persons, out of a population in that year of about 37,000,000, acknowledged the receipt of any taxable income; and in 1872, when the exemption had been raised to $2,000 and the population had increased to over 39,000,000, the number of persons who paid an income-tax ran down to 72,949,—leaving a presumption that every one of the 38,927,051 who did not pay, and was made subject to inquisition by the officials in respect to his income, made oath that he was not in receipt from wages, salary, interest, or profits, of an income liable to taxation in excess of $2,000. From an economic point of view it would be a misnomer to call such a result "taxation"; from a moral point of view its characterization as "appalling" would not be inappropriate.

Whether financial panics, commercial crises, and extreme fluctuation in prices occur, as many believe, more frequently in the United States than in other countries, it is certain that we have few superiors anywhere in this respect. It is certain also that a condition of abnormal instability in all matters of business—industrial, commercial, and financial—which in turn creates and encourages unhealthy speculation, has come to be regarded as a national characteristic. If any one doubts that this abnormal and unhealthy condition has been largely due to this practice of subordinating, in legislation, economic principles and business interests to party purposes, let him

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mention one fiscal or industrial measure of importance that has been debated in Congress or enacted into law during the last quarter of a century, solely on its economic merits. In most other countries, and more especially in Great Britain, which is the greatest commercial rival of the United States, political parties rarely antagonize each other on economic questions,—taxation (internal or tariff) banking, currency, navigation laws, and the like. And to this fact, more than to any other, the financial and commercial success and supremacy of Great Britain may be ascribed. An Englishman attends to his business with almost no concern as to whether Parliament is or is not in session. His monetary and banking system and the standard of value by which he makes and receives payments have been stability itself for nearly a century. His system of taxation is the simplest in the world, and is rarely changed beyond increasing or reducing to a slight extent certain general taxes, such as those on incomes, to meet any occasional surplus or deficiency of the national exchequer. And he further knows that if any important change in the fiscal policy of the kingdom is contemplated, it will not be made without previous full and fair discussion by the people and a substantial agreement in Parliament of all parties. On the contrary, the meeting of the Federal Congress is a source of disquietude to nearly every American man in business, and he breathes a sigh of relief when it adjourns and he knows that he is to be exempt for a fraction of a year from the vicissitudes of legislation. The circumstance that the United States has for many years, by reason of its great natural resources and the energy of its people, maintained a high degree of prosperity under conditions that would have occasioned revolution or ruin in other countries, has unquestionably encouraged a sentiment among its people that they have a supremacy over all accidents, and that the precedents of economic experience on the part of other nations are matters to them of very little importance. Nevertheless the maxim, which certainly seems to find support in our past national history, that there is a special Providence for the United States, in common with infants, sailors, and drunken men, is not a safe and sure foundation for legislation; as has been strikingly illustrated by the recent results of our national treatment of the silver question.

Now, if the above diagnosis of what may be termed the economic situation of the United States is correct, and the situation is antagonistic alike to national and individual prosperity, the remedy for it

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can be found only in better popular education; obtained either through the slow school of experience, at which the nation, paying exorbitantly high tuition, has long been in attendance; or through the institution, by the agency of the presidents and professors in our colleges and the teachers in our higher schools, of more intelligent and less expensive educational methods. In other words, instruction in the fundamental and generally accepted principles of political economy should be advanced to a higher position than it now holds in our educational system; and their study, regarded as an essential for good citizenship, should be made imperative (attractive also, as it can be) on all students above a certain age and of fair mental capacity.

But some may ask incredulously, What! more dosing with what some of its most famous experts have characterized as a dismal science? The answer ought to be emphatically, Yes! and political economy will cease to be regarded as dismal or unattractive, if it be taught on the line of its true meaning and definition; which I hold to be, not "the science of wealth" or "the science of exchanges," but, rather, the history of the world's experience in endeavoring to better its material condition, and the making of correct deductions from such experience, with a view to present and future guidance in furtherance of the same purpose. The legitimate literature of political economy is, in fact, the economic experience of nations; and "the lessons to be learned from the multitudinous experiments of the past can never be antiquated, for they reveal certain broad features of human experience that can no more be disregarded than the vital functions of the human body."[1]

Adam Smith is popularly regarded as having created the science of political economy. His writings, however, show that he never entertained any such idea, and it can hardly be claimed for him that he discovered any new truths. But the great service he rendered to mankind was in taking up, as no one before him had done, the blunders and errors of the great merchants and statesmen of the past in respect to matters of commerce and finance, and showing wherein they were mistaken; and he did this in language so clear and so replete with common sense that every man of business and every trader and workman could readily understand him. And it is exactly such teaching as this that the people of the United States now

[1] Prof. J. Shield Nicholson's address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1893.

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most need, and which their present educational system is lamentably deficient in imparting.[1]

But comprehensive as is the definition of political economy above given, it legitimately admits of further amplification. For if it is the history of the world's experience in attempting to better its material condition, then also and necessarily is included in it a recognition of the world's experience in attempting to better its *moral* condition. For there will be slow progress in the work of improving the moral or mental condition of human beings when every waking hour of the individual is devoted to the single thought of keeping soul and body physically united. The first intelligent step in reducing the number of such unfortunates is to understand the laws, deduced from experience, which govern the accumulation and distribution of wealth, and the obstacles, natural or artificial, that stand in the way of its equitable distribution. And this is what sound political economy especially considers and teaches, and a knowledge of which is absolutely essential to all those whose special mission and calling it

[1] The wonderful clearness with which Adam Smith explained, and the interest with which he invested, what are popularly regarded as abstruse economic questions, is well illustrated by his discussion of a topic that is at present largely in the thoughts of the American people, namely, the "scarcity of money." He says:

If gold and silver should at any time fall short in a country which has wherewithal to purchase them, there are more expedients for supplying their place than that of almost any other commodity. If the materials of manufacture are wanted, industry must stop. If provisions are wanted, the people must starve. But if money is wanted, barter will supply its place, though with a good deal of inconveniency. Buying and selling upon credit, and the different dealers compensating their credits with one another, once a month or once a year, will supply it with less inconveniency. All well-regulated paper money will supply it, not only without inconveniency, but, in some cases, with some advantages. Upon every account, therefore, the attention of government never was so unnecessarily employed as when directed to watch over the preservation or increase of the quantity of money in any country.

No complaint, however, is more common than that of a scarcity of money. Money, like wine, must always be scarce with those who have neither wherewithal to buy it nor credit to borrow it. Those who have either will seldom be in want either of the money or of the wine which they have occasion for. This complaint, however, of the scarcity of money, is not always confined to improvident spendthrifts. It is sometimes general through a whole mercantile town, and the country in its neighborhood. Overtrading is the common cause of it. Sober men, whose projects have been disproportioned to their capitals, are as likely to have neither wherewithal to buy money, nor credit to borrow it, as prodigals whose expense has been disproportioned to their revenue. Before their projects can be brought to bear, their stock is gone, and their credit with it. They run about everywhere to borrow money, and everybody tells them that they have none to lend. Even such general complaints of the scarcity of money do not always prove that the usual number of gold and silver pieces are not circulating in the country, but that many people want those pieces who have nothing to give for them. When the profits of trade happen to be greater than ordinary, over-trading becomes a general error both among great and small dealers. They do not always send more money abroad than usual, but they buy upon credit, both at home and abroad, an unusual quantity of goods, which they send to some distant market, in hopes that the returns will come in before the demand for payment. The demand comes before the returns, and they have nothing at hand with which they can either purchase money or give solid security for borrowing. It is not any scarcity of gold and silver, but the difficulty which such people find in borrowing, and which their creditors find in getting payment, that occasions the general complaint of the scarcity of money.—*Wealth of Nations, Book IV., Chap. I.*

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is to try and make men better, if they are to attain any large measure of success in their undertaking. The story of Van der Kempt, a Dutch missionary, sent out many years ago from Holland to South Africa to attempt to Christianize the Kaffirs, has much of pertinency and instruction on this point. When he first entered upon his work, he devoted himself to the labor of improving the dwellings of the natives; and for this object he followed for a time the business of the brickmaker, the mason, and the carpenter. When taken to task for doing these things rather than devoting his whole time to the preaching of the gospel, he is said to have made answer substantially as follows: that while he had no doubt that the Spirit of God would enter a brush hut with a mud floor, and dwell therein, he felt equally certain that it would come more readily into a house with a tiled roof, dry floor, and glazed windows. And he was right, for the reason that it is not easy—nay, all but impossible—to lead a life of intellectual purity and righteousness amid filth, poverty, and all the adjuncts of physical debasement. If this line of reasoning is correct, and material progress is to a large extent the essential basis for religious and moral progress, then no theological seminary ought to be regarded as efficiently equipped unless it has among its instructors a person capable of clearly teaching political economy. Theologians and scholars alike, in place of disputing over the question as to whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or Isaiah the prophecies attributed to him, would much better try to obtain a correct idea of what constitutes a standard or measure of value; inasmuch as a decision as to what Moses or Isaiah did or did not do would not invalidate any fundamental religious principle; but in the absence of such a standard there would be very little of either civilization or religion.

It would seem as if every one who saw and studied the exhibit of war-instrumentalities, made by Krupp and others, at the Chicago Exposition, or who has kept himself in fair acquaintance with the recent wonderful progress in inventing new and terribly destructive military and naval agencies, must be inclined to the belief that, although the millennium is not likely to come immediately, the period of great international wars is drawing to a close. Apart from the inability of the leading military nations to endure the enormous expenditures of modern warfare, men cannot be found who will long and willingly stand up and be slaughtered by wholesale by invisible foes. There will be little opportunity for display of personal courage or heroism, or for the organization and leadership of "forlorn hopes" which con-

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stitute the spirit of war, when combatants are to engage in battle at a distance of miles, and personal contact with the enemy has been made practically impossible. But, be this as it may, it is certain that the United States, by reason of its (present) freedom from entangling foreign alliances, its geographical position, and its enormous resources of men, money, and materials, can have no foreign war except by its own provoking and choosing; and it is almost equally certain that no one of the great "ironclads" which the nation has constructed and is constructing at so large an expenditure of the proceeds of its taxes, will ever fire a hostile shot or be worth more at the end of a decade than its value as old material.

But, if free from apprehension of foreign foes, are we exempt from danger from foes within? Has not the barbarian already effected a lodgment within our gates? The United States is trying an experiment for which there is no precedent in the world's history. We have entrusted the selection of legislators and the determination of the policy of the Federal and State governments, through universal suffrage, to the masses, who have little faith in or knowledge of economic principles, and who do not recognize that hardly a method can be proposed for the material advancement of mankind which has not been somewhere and at some time practically tried, and that the resulting experiences are worth studying. Further, the home element of danger is now being reinforced by an enormous immigration of other and alien people, who, in no small part through circumstances of foreign birth and education, are antagonistic to all government, and who fail to see that there is any well-marked line of division between liberty and unrestrained license. The great American Republic has little to fear from the open advocacy of anarchy, or the use of dynamite, or from processions marching after red flags. The common sense of its people will take care of all these things. But it has reason for fear from the enactment of laws which tend to impair and make unstable the standard of value in the making of its exchanges; which provide for discriminating taxation; which sanction the imposition of taxes for private rather than for public purposes; which authorize the issue of fiat money and impair contracts and the security of property by investing it with legal-tender attributes; and which favor an income tax with inquisitorial features that under a free government should never be thought of except under the exigency of war, and that can never be equitably enforced except under a despotism.

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The policy which prompts to the suggestion and enactment of such laws may find favor and be tolerated (of necessity) under despotic forms of government, like Russia and Germany; but they are antagonistic to the principles and endurance of a free government: and for deliverance from the disasters which their recognition will certainly entail upon the American people, there is but one sure and certain remedy—namely, better education and acquaintance than they now have in respect to economic history and past experiences. The question of how to provide such popular education is not, however, free from difficulty. When professed teachers of political economy need to be retaught; and when institutions of learning, claiming high character, accept endowments of chairs of this department of knowledge with the agreement that their occupants shall teach only such political economy as the donor thinks will subserve his private interests,—the look-ahead is not altogether encouraging.

DAVID A. WELLS.

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THE PRINCIPLE AND METHOD OF THE NEW TARIFF BILL.

EVERY American voter knew that the chief issue in the Presidential campaign of 1892 was the reform of our tariff system. Every American voter understood, when the people turned over all the law-making branches of their government to the Democratic party, that they put that party into power with deliberate instructions to repeal the McKinley act, and to reverse the principles on which all the tariff laws of the previous thirty years had been framed. The first attempted step in that momentous reform has been taken in the tariff bill, which at this writing has been for some days before the people, although it is still under hammer in the House Committee.

As to the principles of tariff legislation which have guided those to whom the duty of framing this measure has been assigned, I may confidently say that its authors are unflinching believers in the simple truth that all taxes exacted from the taxpayer should be for public purposes alone; and that they accept with equal heartiness the correlative truth, laid down in the oft-quoted decision of the Supreme Court, that "to lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizens, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals, to aid private enterprises and to build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation."

When the law compels me to contribute my just quota to the support of government, it is taxation; when it compels me to contribute to the support of any private enterprise, it is robbery. The first is a tariff for revenue; the second is a tariff for protection.

Accepting these general principles as their own political creed and as the mandate of the American people after ten years of tariff discussion, the framers of the new bill have aimed to make as near an approach to them as is safe and expedient in the first great measure of legislative reform. No men will more frankly and readily admit that they have halted some distance on this side of the goal, and that they have not been able to purge our tariff system as thoroughly of

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its protective taint as they themselves expected even when they entered upon their task. Their defence is that they believe too strongly in the political and economic blessings of thorough revenue reform, to imperil its permanent success by going farther than they have gone in their first march. It is a great triumph to be able to move at all, in the right direction. Responsibility for action is always a sobering influence. They have had to deal with an inveterate and vicious system, that had stealthily and resistlessly fastened itself upon every branch and ramification of American industry, and to which trade and production for years had imperceptibly if inconveniently adapted itself. The "obduracy of fixed habit," no less than the irrational, but none the less real, dread of all change, were to be reckoned with. "A legislator must do what he can when he cannot do what he would." Stable freedom has come only to that great race that has known how to reform without destroying.

Mr. Jefferson said that the patriots of the Revolution were able to unite because those who were in advance slackened their pace while those in the rear quickened their step. It shows, therefore, no lack of faith in great principles, and no failure to respect the announced determination of the people that those principles shall prevail in future tariff legislation, if we should begin with that temperate reform that carries in itself the principle of growth.

If all this seems apologetic, it is because I believe that, if the proposed bill needs any apology, it is to those who looked and voted for a thorough and radical overhauling of our tariff system, not to the interested classes who are now denouncing the measure as an extreme and destructive proposition.

But I would not be understood as admitting that the new tariff bill is not a very large and far-reaching measure of reform; and I will point out two things which it proposes to accomplish, either one of which is worth in itself a political revolution. The really great and beneficent reform of the bill is the release from taxation of the great basic materials of modern industry. If a large part of our revenues must be gathered from a tax upon consumption, let there be but one tax, and that a tax upon the finished product, not upon the processes and materials of industry. If we lay heavy duties on wool, and machinery, and fuel, and transportation, and dye-stuffs, and everything else that goes to the making of the final product, it is clear that the fabric reaches the consumer freighted with a medley of cumulative taxation that is burdensome and oppressive.

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But even more beneficial and necessary is it to the working-man to have untaxed materials to work with. His wages, his steady employment, and his personal ability to influence both, are dependent on a full and expanding market for the products of his labors and his skill. The remark of a great American statesman, seventy years ago, that "the greatest want of civilized society is a market for the sale and exchange of the surplus of the produce of the labor of its members," was never as true of any people as it is to-day true of the people of the United States. There is not one of our leading industries that can find free and healthful play within the limits of our home market. Capital can combine, and frequently does combine, to hold down production to the paying demands of that market, but this is done at the expense of the home consumer and to the hurt of the home laborer. From the consumer it must gather profits enough to make up for the idleness of a part of the year or of a part of its plant. From the laborer it must take away employment for part of the year or for part of its plant.

Even under present burdens many of our producers are forcing their entry into other markets. With free materials more of them could do so. It is a most irrational and absurd outcry that in so doing they may incur the hazard of surrendering the rich and reliable home market for an uncertain and less profitable outside market. The ability of any industry to invade the markets of other countries implies its ability to hold the market of its own country against the same competitors, and it is a mockery to talk of overproduction as long as there are so many millions of hungry people to feed and so many millions of ill-clad people to clothe, and only a law of Congress to forbid that exchange of the products of labor by which both ourselves and they could enjoy more of the goods and necessaries of life.

But it is not alone in its free-list, which seeks to remove taxes that handicap production and thus narrow our markets, that the new bill responds to the demand of the people. It makes everywhere large and beneficial reductions in the taxes on those products that go into immediate consumption, to the end that needful clothing, implements of labor, shelter, fuel, and many other indispensable things, may be put within the reach of the masses of the people at less expenditure of labor than must now be given for them.

With all these reductions, we must admit that criticism may yet find in some of the important schedules of the bill rates of duty that seem out of place in a revenue tariff. To those who come after us,

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as to those in other lands to-day, such duties may occasion surprise and provoke censure. Here, again, it must be said that the tariff stilts could not be safely knocked away at the first blow. We have not believed that our commission required such headlong reductions as might cripple or vitally distress great industries that have rested for a generation upon tariff props, however little they may have been helped by them. We have aimed to leave no duty high enough to give a monopoly of the home market, but rather at such a level as to permit enough competition from without to protect American consumers from exaggerated prices and from combinations, and at the same time contribute some revenue to the public treasury.

Next to releasing from taxation the necessaries of life and the necessaries of labor, the most beneficent feature of the bill is the general substitution of ad-valorem duties for the specific duties of the existing law. This rule has occasionally been relaxed for reasons of convenience, or for exceptional reasons of trade, but most of the specific duties retained are such as are not inconsistent with the adoption of the other system as the true principles of tariff taxation. The outcry that ad-valorem duties encourage undervaluation, and thus prejudice the honest importer as well as the home manufacturer, is more a tradition of the past than a fact justified by experience with our present administrative laws, which, with the improvements suggested by four years' trial, are incorporated into the new bill.

But, even conceding that undervaluations may and do occur with ad-valorem duties, it may be answered that they are not as gross or as hurtful as the constant and necessary overvaluations carried in any system of specific duties. That system raises the common and cheap article to the same level of taxation as the better and expensive one. It is at fatal variance with the law of equal taxation; and that variance is all in the direction of increasing the burdens of the weak and lightening the burdens of the strong. Taxation in proportion to exact value is not only the fair mode, but the mode which past experience shows to be susceptible of honest and successful application. Both under the compromise tariff from 1833 to 1842, and under the Walker tariff from 1846 to 1861, it was adopted. From the foundation of the government it has prevailed in some of the most important schedules of every law. After ten years' successful trial, under the tariff of 1833, Mr. Clay declared it justly entitled to the preference both in theory and according to every sound principle of justice. Indeed the briefest examination of the present

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law will show that specific duties not only lead to gross inequality, —always in the direction of overvaluing, for taxation, the common article,—but that they conceal many of the enormities of that law.

I have on my table, as I write, two samples of woollen-pile stuffs, such as make good and serviceable cloaks or sacks for working-girls abroad, and which many here would be glad to get. Under the law of 1883 they were dutiable at 35 cents a pound and 35 per cent ad valorem; making for one sample a duty of 207 per cent, of which 172 per cent was covered by the mild-looking specific duty of "35 cents a pound"; and for the other, 171 per cent, of which 136 per cent was carried in this specific duty. The McKinley act raised the duty on these fabrics to 49½ cents a pound and 60 per cent ad valorem! This would make for the first sample a duty of 303 per cent, of which 243 per cent is imposed by the specific duty; and for the second sample a duty of 253 per cent, of which 193 per cent is likewise imposed. And this in the name of American labor!

The poor girl, earning the meagre wages of fifty cents a day, having by two days' work made enough money to buy a dollar's worth of this material, would then have to work six days longer to earn sufficient to pay the McKinley taxes upon it. Those taxes increase the cost of the one from $31\frac{79}{100}$ cents to $1.28, and of the other from $44\frac{88}{100}$ cents, to $1.58. Under the bill now proposed, the cost of these goods would be raised to 44 and 64 cents respectively; and these duties are to be lowered one-eighth with the lapse of five years.

Of course the present rates are prohibitory, and such articles never appear in the tables of imports; but these examples serve to show both the working of specific duties on cheap and common goods, and the merciless taxes imposed on the poorest and most defenceless of our wage-earners. No such enormities could be perpetrated under any civilized government unless they were hidden from public detection in specific duties; and the mere statement of them is an unanswerable argument for duties assessed according to actual value, and stated in terms that the simplest can understand.

In conclusion, I would add that the remission of public taxes, offered to the people by the new bill, calculated on the basis of the importations of 1892, is about sixty million dollars. How many times this sum must be multiplied to get at the amount of the remission of private taxes, it may be best not to conjecture; but it may truly be claimed that the taxes taken off are chiefly those that oppress the consumer, throttle trade, and rob labor of employment.

WM. L. WILSON.

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SUMNER.

TWENTY years have gone by since Charles Sumner died. The time has been crowded with great events. New figures have come upon the stage. Reputations have grown up, and have perished. The questions with which he dealt have been—some of them—settled. Some of them, which never will be settled until they are settled rightly, have been thrust aside for a time, only to reappear again in the near future, with more menacing aspect. But the fame of Charles Sumner grows greater, and his place in the admiration and affection of the American people grows larger, with the lapse of time.

The prediction which I made in January, 1878, in reviewing the first two volumes of Mr. Pierce's "Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner," I desire to recall and repeat now:

> "Surely that is the greatest and most practical statesmanship whose power is most enduring. This is a figure which will grow with added years. When the men, not yet grown old, are gone, who shared the studies, the hopes, the joys, of that youth of richest promise; when no man lives who remembers the form of manly beauty and manly strength, and the tones of the mellow and far-sounding voice which arraigned the giant crime of all ages, or set forth for the imitation of the youth of the University, in exquisite eulogy, the four ideals which he kept ever before his own gaze; when no survivor is left of the fifteen years of strife, and labor, and anxiety, and danger, and victory, which began with the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law and ended with the surrender at Appomattox and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment; when the feet are dust that were wont to cross the threshold of that hospitable home, rich with its treasures of art and literature; when the eloquent voices of eulogy from orator, and poet, and pulpit, are a tradition and not a memory,—the character and career of Charles Sumner will still be efficient forces in history, and will have a still higher place than now in the gratitude of mankind."

Mr. Pierce's four volumes tell the story of the life of the greatest American statesman since the Revolutionary time. There have been greater orators, although Mr. Sumner was a very great orator. There have been better constitutional lawyers, although Mr. Sumner was a good constitutional lawyer. There have been men much more skilful in framing statutes. There have been men who contributed to the public questions of their day a larger force of original argument. There have been Senators readier in debate, of more influence

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with their associates, and fitter to frame complicated measures and conduct them to success. Mr. Sumner was unpopular with the majority of the American people, and disliked by many of his associates in the Senate, even those of his own political party, during the larger part of his career. But it was reserved for him, as for no other man, to arouse the conscience of his countrymen, and to make the aroused conscience of his countrymen an efficient and prevailing force in determining the issues of his time. If the influence of Mr. Sumner had been wanting, the result of the contest between slavery and freedom for the possession of the Territories west of the Mississippi, the legal and constitutional place of the Negro race in our body politic after the war was over, the determination of the question of freedom or slavery itself, would not have been what they are now.

I think, therefore, that Mr. Pierce has occupied none too much space in the record of Mr. Sumner's life. His volumes will be authority—very likely the chief authority other than the original records themselves—for the history of the political revolution in which Charles Sumner was a leader. He has done his work with admirable industry and fidelity. He has carefully sifted and subjected to every possible test that most dangerous and misleading class of evidence, the recollections of men—even good and true men—of the transactions in which they had been personal actors. He is a lover and dear friend of the subject of his biography. But he has preserved his judgment from being swayed by friendship, as he preserved his personal independence on some important occasions while his friend was living.

Mr. Pierce's third volume begins with a description that it is hard for any person not a dweller in Boston to read with a grave face. I should be the last person in the world to speak disrespectfully, or even lightly, of the noble old city. I was born and bred almost within the sound of her bells. My heart is full of her stirring and wonderful story. Among the dearest friends of my youth and of my age have been Boston men and women. But I suppose no one of them can perceive the infinite comedy which attaches to a Boston martyrdom as it appears to the outside barbarian. It is what Mr. Sumner speaks of as "social ostracism,"—words of which no person not a Bostonian can appreciate the exact and awful meaning. The phrase is connected in some vague way with the oyster, and means that the object of Boston displeasure gets the shell while the patrician is eating the fish. Let us preserve our gravity and

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speak with due seriousness. There is nothing more dreadful than Boston martyrdom. There have been martyrs, and sufferings for righteousness, in all ages. Daniel was thrown into the lions' den because he turned his face to Jerusalem and prayed to God in his closet. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego were cast into the fiery furnace. St. Peter was crucified with his head downward. The early Christians hid in catacombs, and died on beds of living coals, or starved in their subterranean caverns. The first Protestants were burned at the stake at Smithfield and Oxford and Gloucester. The Pilgrim Fathers came to New England with their households, to land on a bleak, desolate coast in midwinter. Half of them died before spring. And yet not one of the original company went back. Sumner himself encountered for years a storm of hate and rage from his own countrymen—hot and severe as a blast from hell. His mail, night and morning, was crowded with letters full of reviling and scorn, threats of violence and assassination. He was stricken down in the Senate chamber. In his desire to recover, to speak one more word for Freedom, he submitted himself to the moxa, torture which his surgeon declared terrible as ever was inflicted on man on beast. Twelve times the pitiless fire was kindled upon his spine,—the very source and origin of agony—and he did not flinch. But all these things are as nothing to the sufferings of those Boston martyrs whom a gentleman who had made a book of Spanish Extracts refused to invite to dinner. The biographies of Mr. Dana and of Mr. Sumner freeze our blood and harrow our nerves with the details of this horror.

Mr. Sumner was not without compensation. From the time of his first public appearance until his death, there was scarcely a person in Europe whose name stood high in letters or social life, whose gates would not have been opened to him as to a most welcome guest. At home, in the midst of the bitterest conflicts, all of his generation whose names anybody cares to remember now were among his friends. He returned to Massachusetts at the end of the sessions of the Senate to receive the plaudits of the people of Massachusetts; to hear the weighty "Well done" of Charles Allen; to get an affectionate letter from Whittier, or to be crowned with imperishable laurels by his Muse, which ever uttered the voice of New England; and to enjoy the loving companionship of Longfellow. But what availed all this, if the author of a book of Spanish Extracts still declined to invite him to dinner?

Do not let it be supposed that Mr. Pierce is not warranted in

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treating this matter gravely. Mr. Sumner himself treated it seriously, as does Wendell Phillips in his sketch of Sumner in Johnson's Cyclopedia. Mr. Adams does the same in his life of Dana. Mr. Dana did so himself. Undoubtedly the social influence, whether of Little Pedlington or of a metropolis like Boston, is not to be despised as a political force. Disraeli makes one of his characters, who is an aged and powerful statesman, advise a young friend who is rising in life never to despise the political power of the dandies. They not only are useful as *claqueurs*, but unhappily they often set the fashion which prevails and penetrates a great way. The political opinion of a fashionable society is sometimes copied pretty widely, like the dresses of its women or the parting of the hair of its youth. But the man must have a weak spot in him, however sensible in general, to whom it is a matter of personal concern.

Was Charles Sumner a great statesman? Was he a great orator? Was he a great man, attaining our ideal of a well-rounded and perfect manhood? These are questions which have been debated by friends as well as foes, and among men who loved him and whom he loved, as well as among those who hated him.

We may concede to those denying to Charles Sumner the highest qualities of statesmanship that he had no special gift for framing the mechanism of a complicated statute. I do not think he would have drawn a bankruptcy bill, or a tariff bill, as well as some of the eminent gentlemen who have of late rendered such services to the country. I am not sure that he could have framed the Judiciary Act, which of itself was enough to give to the name of Oliver Ellsworth a deserved immortality. It may be doubtful whether, if he had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, he would have been among the foremost. He did not achieve any special prominence as a member of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts in 1853. But he determined the currents of his country's history in great emergencies and when great issues were at stake. It was his personal influence that held back the country from a fatal strife with England and France throughout the rebellion. He prevented privateering. To him was due the adoption of the policy of arming the blacks. He caused the principle of Negro suffrage to be established in the Constitution. But for him, I believe we should have compromised with slavery before the war. But for him, I believe we should have compromised with slavery

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during the war. He dealt always with the largest things in the largest way. He was a principal leader in the struggle which made slaves freedmen, and which made freedmen citizens and voters. "When he entered the Senate, free speech could not be said to exist there. To him as much as to any man was due the breaking of the chain." As we look back upon that period of history we find nothing in Charles Sumner, so far as he dealt with these great matters, either in principle or in policy, that we wish to alter.

Highly as we respect Garrison, we must admit that, if he had had his way, there would have been a great slave empire on the North American continent at this moment. We may have been stirred by the eloquence of Phillips, but if he had had his way, Lincoln would have been driven from power in the middle of the rebellion, and the South would have been permitted to go in peace. With Seward's policies, we should have had three wars on our hands at once. There is no statesman of his time whom we can compare with Charles Sumner for unerring instinct, save Lincoln alone,—and Lincoln owed much to his counsels. He did what he could best do. He did the things most needed to be done,—the things which no other man did or could do; and he left to others to do only what hundreds of others could do well enough. He contributed largely to the government of his country in the most trying period of her history, its motive and its direction. That is a pretty practical contribution to the voyage which furnishes the steamship with its engine and its compass, and selects the port for which it shall make. He was a leader and not a follower. He never studied the direction of the popular breeze. He did not gather other men's opinions before he formed or uttered his own. He was courageous, and absolutely without regard to personal consequences when great principles were involved. He knew how to bring the people to his support. The man who, in Massachusetts, attacked the Know-Nothing party, in its very delirium of triumph, when it had just swept the State as with a hurricane, electing the entire State government save the representatives of a single town, in the autumn of 1854; the man who offered in the Senate the battle-flag resolution,—was the man who was reëlected again and again by the legislature of his State, almost without opposition. If we judge him by the soundness of his principles, by the wisdom of his measures, by his power to command the support of the people, by the great public results he accomplished, there is no statesman of his time to be named in the same breath with him, save Abraham Lincoln.

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Was Charles Sumner a great orator? The answer to this question, to every man's mind, must depend upon his own conception of the meaning of the term. It is quite as hard to define oratory as it is to define poetry. There are many musical and rhythmical utterances which have stirred the heart of mankind, which, to use Mr. Lowell's felicitous sentence, "do not merely nestle in the ear by virtue of their music, but in the soul and life, by virtue of their meaning," to which criticism denies the right to be called poetry. Matthew Arnold thinks that the test of a good translation of Homer is that it should make upon the reader the impression which the original makes upon great scholars like Jowett or Hawtrey. There is an oratory which, while it moves and persuades auditor and reader, fulfils few conditions of eloquence which would be laid down by any competent authority. It palls on the jaded senses of the scholar, shocks the fastidious taste of the critic, and has for the artist no sensation of pleasure or satisfaction. If the test of oratory be the fulfilment of the highest conditions, not much of the production of the famous orators of any generation will stand the requirement. Indeed, it is all pretty hard reading. Nobody to-day reads Henry Clay or Charles James Fox or William Pitt or much of Sheridan. A very few pages will contain all of Wendell Phillips that will remain long in men's memory. History has thrown away the speeches of Bolingbroke, and they will never be recovered. The bulk even of Webster's best speeches is read now for the weight of its profound meaning, and not for its oratoric or literary grace. Indeed, for eloquence to meet the demand and the test above stated, we must look to the great poets and to the Scriptures for nearly all our examples, and not to the orators.

To be a perfect and consummate orator is to possess the highest faculty given to man. Such an orator must be a great artist, and more—must be a great poet, and more—must be a master of the great things that interest mankind. What he says must have as permanent a place in literature as the highest poetry. He must be able to play at will on that mighty organ—his audience—of which human souls are the keys. He must have knowledge, wit, wisdom, fancy, imagination, courage, nobleness, grace, a heart of fire. He must himself respond to every emotion as an æolian harp to the breeze. He must have

> "An eye that tears can on a sudden fill,
> And lips that smile before the tears are gone."

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He must have a noble personal presence. He must have the eye and the voice which are the only and natural avenues by which one human soul can enter into and subdue another. His speech must be filled with music, and possess its miraculous charm and spell,

> "Which the posting winds recall
> And suspend the river's fall."

He must have the quality which Burke manifested when Warren Hastings said, "I felt, as I listened to him, as if I were the most culpable being on earth," and which made Philip say of Demosthenes, "Had I been there he would have persuaded me to take up arms against myself." But while a rule so lofty and exacting may perhaps be justly applied to the poet, it is out of place when applied to the orator. He has a present, practical purpose to accomplish. If he fail in that, he fails utterly and altogether. That object is to convince the understanding, to persuade the will, to set aflame the heart of his audience or those who read what he says. He is speaking for a present occasion. Eloquence is but the feather which tips his arrow. If the orator miss the mark he is a failure, although his sentences may survive everything else in the permanent literature of the language in which he speaks.

We may well admit that Charles Sumner was not an orator of this standard. We should search our own history in vain for such an example. Daniel Webster's lucid statements made his hearers see the truth so clearly that he was worthless as an advocate of the wrong side. Wendell Phillips's beautiful diction and graceful action were delightful to the listener. But he made converts rarely, and seldom stirred in his auditors a strong moral emotion which without him they would not feel. He was reckless and unscrupulous in his assertions. His statements of a fact, his estimate of the character of a contemporary, his expression of an opinion as to public policies, had no effect on the majority of his auditors—who went to hear him out of curiosity, or to gratify a taste for good speaking—except to make them say to themselves, "I wonder if there is any truth in that." He seemed to delight in invective and in the use of his stinging weapon, as a gladiator might delight in his exhibition. Charles Sumner would have disdained to use such a gift if he had possessed it. But he stirred and convinced great masses of men. Vast audiences hung for hours, delighted, upon his lips, and went away persuaded to do his bidding. He induced them to accept

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beliefs or motives which decided their action on vital occasions. In this power he ranks among the very foremost, if he be not the foremost person, in American political history.

If to be able to do this is to be a great orator, then the speeches of Charles Sumner, with very few exceptions indeed, are among the very greatest achievements of the orators who have spoken the English tongue. Patrick Henry's speech in the old court-house at Richmond, Fisher Ames's on the British Treaty, John Marshall's in the case of Robbins, Webster's reply to Hayne, Wendell Phillips's first speech in Faneuil Hall, and perhaps one or two others, are all that can be compared with them. Each of Charles Sumner's great speeches, as has been well said, was in itself an important historic event. His speeches in the Senate did more than convince—they compelled the Senate to his desire. Millions upon millions of his countrymen read them, and they determined and changed the currents of history. Wendell Phillips says of him:

> "His eloquence belongs to the school of Burke, whom he liked to be thought to resemble, as indeed he did in features. His speeches had more learning than Burke cared to show, but in wealth of illustration, gorgeous rhetoric, lofty tone, and a 'gigantic morality which treads all sophistry under foot,' the resemblance was close. His real power lay in the sincerity and fiery enthusiasm of the speaker, whose whole soul freighted his words, and in the fact that there was 'always a man behind the speech.' The massive grandeur of his presence and the dignity of his bearing added largely to his speech."

Was Charles Sumner a great man, rising to the full stature of a complete and lofty manhood? If he were a great statesman, measured by the achievements we have recited; if he were a great orator, reaching even the limitations we have set down,—he must have large defects indeed to be denied the attribute of greatness, judged by whatever measure or definition. But to these he added, by the confession of all men, disinterestedness, love of country, love of humanity, inflexible integrity, and stainless purity. It has been charged that he was vain, quarrelsome, intolerable, and impractical; that he disregarded constitutional restraints and imputed to the Declaration of Independence a higher authority than to the Constitution; that he was so lacking in the sense of humor as almost to exhibit a mental deformity in this respect; that he so insisted upon his own opinion that it was impossible for him to act with other men as with equals.

I knew Charles Sumner very well indeed. I had as good an opportunity to study him as I ever had to study any human being.

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My relation to him made him and his character and conduct objects of special study while he was living, as they have been since. If we understand by vanity a disposition to dwell on things light and trivial, or a disposition to dwell on one's self and to force light or trivial matters connected with one's self on the attention of other people, or an undue and overweening estimate of one's self in regard either to things light or trivial or not light or trivial, or—to use a phrase lately applied to him by a very sensible writer—"being full of one's self," I do not think Charles Sumner was a vain person. He was affectionate; he craved the sympathy of his friends and the approbation of those persons who agreed with him on the great questions with which he dealt. He craved this the more eagerly because of the storm of hate and denunciation that he encountered, and which he encountered without flinching. Undoubtedly, when he had a great responsibility or a great duty, he liked the evidence that it had been well discharged, and liked to have the public, which he served, know it. I do not believe that this was more true of him than of the average of men in public life. The desire for such sympathy or approbation never caused him to swerve one hair's breadth from the line of duty. I do not think he had an inordinate love of praise. It seems to me it was the love of sympathy. He felt quite as keenly the scorn and hate which were poured out upon his head as upon no other man of his day, as the most sensitive and delicate person I ever knew would have felt them. It was because of his sublime faith and his sublime fortitude that he encountered them. But he craved, for that reason all the more, every human sympathy. The martyr who is undergoing torture may be pardoned if he welcome a little soothing balm. It is quite natural that a man dealing with most important transactions, honestly, wisely, with a single desire to do his duty and to promote the public welfare, should desire, when he goes home, that some other explanation and account of his conduct should reach the ears of his friends than that which they read in the newspapers.

I have scarcely ever known a man in public life to whom the phrase that he seemed "to be full of himself" would be, in my judgment, less applicable. How much less ought a man to think of himself than he deserves in order to escape the imputation of vanity? Charles Sumner was a man whose individual force sometimes outweighed that of hundreds of thousands of ordinary citizens. As has been said, he determined the course of the history of his country

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on several very grave occasions. If you had subtracted him from the side of which he was a leader, the decision of the people, in regard to some of the greatest issues of his time, would have been, in my opinion, the other way.

To form a just estimate of Charles Sumner it is necessary to settle the questions: first, whether there be in this world such a thing as wickedness; and, second, whether human slavery be such a thing. These are questions about which many more people are in doubt than are ready to admit it. It is true that Mr. Sumner adopted as a fundamental and controlling maxim in the construction of the Constitution of the United States, that the idea was not to be entertained that its framers meant to incorporate in it a mandate to commit a crime against the moral law. He sought to carry that principle of construction to its legitimate results regardless of contemporaneous exposition. I wonder what an archangel would have done or said if he had been sent into this world with a commission to lead and inspire a movement for the overthrow of slavery in the United States, a commission which would have been entirely worthy of such an ambassador. I think we should not have been astonished if such a being had adopted an interpretation something like that of Charles Sumner.

I am not certain that joking, or the capacity for joking, is the accompaniment, or ought to be the accompaniment, of the great and severe transactions of human life; that men who are on trial for their lives, or who are framing constitutions or bills of rights or denouncing great public crimes, are moved to take humorous views of the situation; or that there is any record that the Saviour or the Apostles or the Prophets, or either of them, had much humor.

I think, too, the Saviour, or an archangel, or an Apostle, or a Prophet would have seemed sometimes a little impractical. He might not have shown much of the kind of sagacity which was manifested by Mr. William H. Seward. All I have to say of Mr. Seward's sagacity is that it would have brought the cause of freedom—and the Union itself—to wreck on twenty occasions, if he had had his way. Mr. Sumner's policies were as surely the pathway of success and safety as they were the pathway of duty. I believe him to have been incapable of a permanent anger. He was wholly devoted to Freedom, Righteousness, Justice. The paths which lead to them seemed to him clear as noonday. And so his righteous indignation blazed forth upon friend or foe who seemed to him at any time to be an obstacle.

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But there was nothing personal in it. He was placable when the present occasion had passed by. He had but one quarrel—that with Grant and Fish—which was left unreconciled when he died. If he had lived till Grant vetoed the Inflation Bill, that difference would have been forgotten.

Let us hope that these volumes will always be a text-book for Americans. Let successive generations be brought up on the story of the noble life of Charles Sumner. Let the American youth think of these things. They are things true, honest, just, lovely, and of good report. There is virtue in them and praise, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise. They do not belong to fiction, but to history. It is no Grecian or Roman or English heroism that the youth is invited to study. Charles Sumner belongs to us. His youth was spent under a humble American roof. His training was in an American school and college. He sleeps in American soil. He is ours, wholly and altogether. His figure will abide in History like that of St. Michael in Art, an emblem of celestial purity, of celestial zeal, of celestial courage. It will go down to immortality with its foot upon the dragon of Slavery, and with the sword of the spirit in its hand, but with a tender light in its eye, and a human love in its smile. Guido and Raphael conceived their "inviolable saint,

> Invulnerable, impenetrably armed;
> Such high advantages his innocence
> Gave him above his foe; not to have sinned,
> Not to have disobeyed; in fight he stood
> Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pained
> By wounds."

The Michael of the painters, as a critic of genius akin to their own has pointed out, rests upon his prostrate foe light as a morning cloud, no muscle strained, with unhacked sword and unruffled wings, his bright tunic and shining armor without a rent or stain. Not so with our human champion. He had to bear the bitterness and agony of a long and doubtful struggle, with common weapons and against terrible odds. He came out of it with soiled garments and with a mortal wound, but without a regret and without a memory of hate.

GEO. F. HOAR.

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HAS IMMIGRATION DRIED UP OUR LITERATURE?

By the word literature I mean here of course literature of power and genius, and not mere literature of information, as it is called, which includes encyclopædias and newspapers. There is no doubt that at one time literature of genius was produced in this country, nearly all of it in one State, Massachusetts; and that the men who produced it—now all dead but one—have left no successors. Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, Hawthorne, Poe, Emerson, Irving, Prescott, Motley, Lowell, and a few others were unquestionably men of genius and were recognized as such the world over. Holmes is now the sole survivor. All these men, including Channing and Bayard Taylor, were born between the years 1780 and 1825. Most of them had passed through the impressionable years of life before the year 1825. But since 1825 no man has been born who can for one moment be compared to them in point of literary genius, although in England at least a dozen men have been born since 1825 who are recognized as men of genius, and who continue the line of English literature. If we follow English literature backward, we find that the production of literary men of high order was steady and continuous for several hundred years, every decade producing several of them. Indeed the regularity with which they appeared is quite remarkable.

During the forty-five years in which our great literary men were produced they appeared with the same regularity. Our literature of that time had all the characteristics of a national literature. It was complete in all the departments of poetry, romance, oratory, philosophy, history, and theology. A full national literature is always of this sort. It is the expression of the highest and subtlest feeling of the people in all their avenues of life. But now our literature contains few if any men of genius and shows no varied power. Our two or three literary men that are in any way remarkable are confined to one class.

How does it happen that our literature is a mere isolated patch? Why were we able to produce men of genius during the forty-five

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years from 1780 to 1825, and none before and none since? Why also did most of them appear in one State?

There is a cause for everything, and when literature of a high order is produced continuously and in varied forms, there must be some strong general causes or conditions acting among the people. Now what were the conditions in Massachusetts before 1825, and how have they changed? Her people have grown richer since then, and developed their enterprises and industries; but this change cannot be a hindrance to literature. England, too, has grown richer and developed her industries, and has been doing so for several hundred years, and all the time her literature has been going on. Indeed it is generally supposed that the development of wealth and ease are beneficial to the fine arts. Education is as thorough to-day in Massachusetts as it was before 1825. In fact it is believed to be more thorough, more generally diffused, and more liberal and enlightened. There are no signs of stupidity around Boston Harbor. The people read and appreciate good books as much as ever, and have plenty of money to buy them. Most of the conditions seem favorable to literature of a high order. The only difference that can be discovered between the present and the period before 1825 is the change in the homogeneousness of the population, which was then purely native and is now more than half foreign.

Massachusetts was founded by immigrants of pure English stock who arrived between the years 1620 and 1640. After 1640, as is well known, Massachusetts received no more immigrants even from England. From that time her development was entirely a native growth, and her native feeling was reinforced by the peculiarities of her religion and government. She not only rejected foreigners who were not of her people's race, but she rejected even Englishmen who were not of her way of thinking, and banished Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson and persecuted the Quakers. Whatever may have been her faults in this direction, her people grew up united, pure-blooded, and homogeneous, and when the year 1780 arrived they had been homogeneous for a hundred and fifty years and formed the most intensely native and individualized commonwealth in America. It was this feeling that made Massachusetts such an aggressive leader in the Revolution; and in 1780 she was surrounded by commonwealths of her own race, which, though not as homogeneous as herself, were nevertheless much more homogeneous than they are now. The original immigration which created the Colonies had long since

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ceased; and none of them except Pennsylvania and New York had received any immigration of importance for many years. The Colonies had grown more and more homogeneous and united during the Colonial period, and the Revolution, which was one of the results of their growth in unity, had united them more firmly than ever. By the year 1800 we were rapidly becoming a nation in the full sense of the word, and would have gone on in that way but for the enormous influx of foreigners which first became serious about 1820.

Literature of genius is not the expression of the man who writes it. It is the expression of the deep, united feeling of his people.

The great schools of art, literature, philosophy, and thought appear to have been national schools, the work of united and homogeneous peoples. The great ideas we have inherited from the past—indeed, all of value that we have inherited from it—are the result of nationality. The two nations of antiquity to which we owe most are the Jews and the Greeks. Our noblest inspirations in religion, morals, philosophy, literature, art, and government come from them, and they were of all peoples the most thoroughly homogeneous. If we pass down through history for the purpose of acknowledging our debts, we must enter at every step: This Italy gave us; that, France; that, Spain; this, England.

The things that are worth preserving through the ages, the immortal things, cannot be produced by a man who is isolated from his fellows or unsupported by them, or lacks their sympathy; and the greatest things usually come from men who have a nation behind them. The supremely great man is the product of the people among whom he was born and lived. A whole host of dramatists lead up to Shakespeare and surround him. They are all like him: all are on the same lines and of the same tone, but none so great. He and they spoke the thoughts and interpreted the feelings of the thousands of Englishmen among whom they lived; and he spoke best. Every investigation into the origin of the great ideas and movements of the past, whether they have been shown in the life of one man or in the lives of ten men, reveals a deep substratum of support among the people, going back in most instances for many generations.

The only real literature we have ever had in the United States arose during the period when the native feeling and homogeneousness of the country was strongest; and the greater part of that literature was developed in Massachusetts, where the people had been most united and homogeneous for the greatest length of time. Modern

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immigration began in the early part of the present century, and it was not until about 1820 that it had become important enough for the Government to feel the necessity of taking statistics of it. By 1830 it had begun to make a very noticeable change in our life; and that is the date usually fixed upon for the beginning of its effects. The men who created our literature were nearly all born between 1780 and 1820, before these effects began to gather full force. This will be seen more clearly by a list of their names assigning them to their different States in the order of their birth.

MASSACHUSETTS:
- Everett (1794),
- Bryant (1794) (lived in New York after his thirtieth year),
- Prescott (1796),
- Bancroft (1800),
- Emerson (1803),
- Hawthorne (1804),
- Whittier (1807),
- Holmes (1809),
- Poe (1809) (brought up in Virginia),
- Theodore Parker (1810),
- Sumner (1811),
- Phillips (1811),
- Motley (1814),
- Lowell (1819),
- Parkman (1823).

RHODE ISLAND:
- Channing (1780) (lived in Massachusetts after his twenty-third year).

MAINE:
- Longfellow (1807) (lived in Massachusetts after his twenty-ninth year).

CONNECTICUT:
- Stowe (1812).

PENNSYLVANIA:
- Bayard Taylor (1825).

NEW YORK:
- Irving (1783).

NEW JERSEY:
- Cooper (1789) (lived in Central New York from early youth).

All on the Massachusetts list, except the last three, Motley, Lowell, and Parkman, had nearly or quite reached their twentieth year before 1830, the time when the effect of immigration was first distinctly noticed. Even Motley and Lowell had passed through the greater part of their impressionable period before 1830. Parkman was seven years old in 1830, and may be said to have passed his impressionable years in both periods. But though probably entitled to be ranked among the great lights, he is manifestly inferior to them all, and so is Bayard Taylor, who was born two years after him, in 1825. Every man of literary instincts whose impressionable youth was touched by the influence that began in 1830 was dwarfed by it and seeks in vain to be ranked as an equal with the men who were developed when native feeling was at its height.

Those great men, like all who have risen to high literary distinction in this country, were of the original, native stock of the land. They all sympathized with those opinions which have always upheld nation-

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ality and nativism. They were all born and all passed through their impressionable age during a period of forty years, in which the people of the United States and especially of Massachusetts were more homogeneous than they were in any other forty years either before or since.

It is certainly rather significant that no man born since 1825 and brought up in the surroundings created by the immigrants has been able to reach anything approaching to the literary eminence which was reached by a dozen men during the previous thirty years. The time has been ample. Men born between 1830 and 1840 would now be fifty or sixty years old. If we look at English literature we find that twelve or thirteen distinguished characters have been born and raised to greatness since 1825—George Meredith (1828), Rossetti (1828), Ingelow (1830), McCarthy (1830), Farrar (1831), "Owen Meredith" (1831), Edwin Arnold (1832), William Morris (1834), Swinburne (1837), Green (1837), Lecky (1838), Morley (1838), Besant (1838), Black (1841), Buchanan (1841), Stevenson (1850), not to mention many others of minor and doubtful power.

In other words, English literature has moved on in its regular course under the influence of general causes. But the literature of Massachusetts has stopped. The old line of greatness is not continued. It is impossible to find for it any competent successor except possibly Charles Dudley Warner (1829). Mr. Warner is undoubtedly a man of letters, and though he has passed most of his life in the West and in Connecticut he was born in Massachusetts. But one in forty years is not equal to twelve in forty years. Nor can it be pretended that Mr. Warner's works have the deep, strong, lasting qualities of the old order. Nor has he produced anything which has made as deep an impression on the world as the writings of his contemporaries in England who were born since 1825. Massachusetts has brought forth no man since that time who has written a poem equal to Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia," or Morris's "Earthly Paradise," or Rossetti's "Blessed Damosel," or who has made such an impression on his time as Swinburne or even Jean Ingelow. Nor has Massachusetts brought forth an historian like Lecky, Green, or McCarthy, or a novelist like Stevenson or Besant.

On the other hand the old order compared very favorably with their contemporaries in England. In spite of differences Holmes was certainly the equal of Hood, Lowell might be thought of along with Browning, Whittier with Keats, and Bryant with Shelley. In these comparisons, which are not meant to be exact, there is nothing

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to the shame of the Americans. In a certain sense we may consider Longfellow as belonging to Massachusetts; for Maine continued to be a part of Massachusetts for some years after he was born, and the influences in Boston and Portland were almost identical. As a Massachusetts poet he is as popular as Tennyson. Among historians, Prescott, Bancroft, and Motley compare very favorably with Carlyle, Macaulay, Kinglake, and Froude. Among men who were both poets and prose writers Lowell and Matthew Arnold fall into a fair group. Hawthorne in his particular kind of romance had not his equal in England, and like Longfellow he is to-day as much read in England as in America. Webster and Everett were supreme men whose counterparts were not at that time to be found in Great Britain. And it would have been equally difficult at that time to find the counterpart of Emerson.

If we look outside of Massachusetts in the United States at large, we find no continuation of the Massachusetts line, or even of the old line of Irving and Cooper. All we can summon are two novelists, James (1843), born in New York and educated in Europe, and Howells (1837), born and brought up in Ohio; Bret Harte (1839), an excellent teller of short stories, born and bred at Albany, New York; and Mark Twain (1835), a humorist from Missouri. Of these the only ones who at all compare with the old order in original native force are Mark Twain and Bret Harte. Marion Crawford is a novelist of no mean rank; but since he has passed nearly all his life abroad and has gathered his inspiration from Europe we can hardly claim him. Even saying the best that can be said for these men, it must be admitted that they are nearly all of one class, the class of story-tellers. But the characteristic feature of our old literature, as of all national literatures, was that it was complete in all departments, poetry, romance, history, philosophy, oratory, and theology.

In his recent book on emigration and immigration, Mr. R. M. Smith fixes the period of native increase in America from 1783 to 1820.[1] It was in one sense longer than that, and should be extended back for some years in most of the Colonies, and in Massachusetts back to 1640. But there is no doubt that the period he has fixed was the period of the most nearly exclusively native growth and of the intensest native feeling, the time when the native feeling of previous years culminated, especially in Massachusetts. In fixing this period Mr. Smith was not thinking of the literature of the country, for he

[1] Smith's "Emigration and Immigration," p. 37.

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says nothing about it; and it is rather curious to observe that his period almost exactly covers the births of the men who made our only national and complete literature.

It is not contended that unity and homogeneousness alone will produce a literature. Savage tribes and half civilized nations have been homogeneous without having any literature at all. Homogeneousness is only one of the essential elements. In Massachusetts other things contributed. The original settlers were men of education, and their peculiar form of religion required much learning and keenness of mind not only among the ministers but among the people. The gradual development of their religion into Unitarianism, giving them broader views and greater liberty of thought, was also an incentive. But their keenness of mind and the excellence of their education existed long before 1780, and, along with Unitarianism, still exist. The one thing that is absent is nativism, without which neither their mental habits nor their religious feelings appear to have been effective for literature.

One of the most characteristic features of the native period of American literature was the early age at which the writers matured and produced their best works. Even the historians, whose tasks, depending on research, usually require a longer time, were very forward in their fame. Prescott finished "Ferdinand and Isabella" in his forty-first year, and Motley "The Dutch Republic" in his forty-second. The fame of Longfellow and Bryant was made before they were forty. Their greatest poems were written before that age. Bryant's "Thanatopsis" was written when he was eighteen. Everett was drawing large audiences at nineteen. Lowell wrote the "Biglow Papers" at twenty-eight, and Holmes his poem on "Old Ironsides" at twenty-one. The forces that inspired them were evidently strong, rapid, and complete.

But of their successors it may be said that they labor and struggle through youth and early manhood, and in middle age bring forth a mouse. By great exertion and long practice they are finally able to work one small department with tiresome facility. They are simpering, superficial, and super-refined; devoted to mere dialect stories or strained descriptions of ephemeral or local phases. A deep, strong passion, or a bold grasp at the eternal verities, frightens them out of their wits. The virile imagination of Stevenson, the wild fancy of Haggard, or Kipling's lust for nature, strikes them as not quite correct. They prefer needles and pins to broadswords.

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Cooper, who, whatever his faults may have been, at any rate wrote about men instead of teapots, would disown them. They have neither strong nor varied powers, and show the inevitable mark of decay by being compelled in almost every instance to fall back on some form of journalism. Indeed it is probable that the strong aggressive natures that in the year 1820 found a sympathetic constituency in literature are now speculating on Wall Street or managing shoe factories or railroads.

Bayard Taylor shows one phase of the change. He had the bad luck to be born in the year 1825, and his development was caught between the two opposing currents. He was the last man of the old stock who attempted to be an all-round literary man and take an active part in life. He partially succeeded; but he was just too late and was dwarfed at every point. He was a fine, vigorous piece of manhood. It is impossible to read his life and works without seeing that the seeds of greatness were in him. He was forever complaining that the American people cared nothing about him and would neither understand him nor sympathize with him, a complaint which will be sought for in vain among the men who preceded him. He looked for sympathy in Europe just as Lowell toward the close of his life sought it there, and as his predecessors were not obliged to seek it. Taylor was continually forced into journalism, and in the end it absorbed his best efforts. He contained within himself the end of nativism and the beginning of alienism, and marked the turn.

That turn is now deeply set and has been running for half a century, until Massachusetts, once the home of a pure native stock, has more than 50 per cent of her population foreign, and the foreign element is principally Irish and French-Canadian. Her homogeneousness and her literature are destroyed. The descendants of her old people still hold themselves together in a way, and possess in a modified and mediocre form some of the characteristics of the past; and doubtless this state of things will continue for a long time. But the high and the deep tones are gone, and it is not likely that we shall ever hear them again.

SYDNEY G. FISHER.

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THE DECLINE OF THE AMERICAN PULPIT.

"WHY do we have so many inferior men in the pulpit?" asked a layman of his bishop. "Because we have only the laymen to choose from," was the ready and witty reply. But the layman's curiosity cannot be always laid by the bishop's wit. His question is being repeated from pew to pew, and from church to church, and demands a serious answer. Another layman, writing to the editor of a very prominent religious journal, says, "I go to church for bread, and get nothing but chaff." He "would like to believe in the Bible," but gets no help from the pulpit. The editor was not less skilful of fence than the bishop, and parried his correspondent's awkward question in the easiest and most graceful editorial fashion. He said that the clergy were mortal men, and were not chosen from angels or archangels.

I suppose most people do not expect clergymen to be chosen from the Angelic Host above, yet they see no reason why ordinary judgment should not be used in selecting them from their fellow-mortals here below. That they are not always chosen from the most highly educated classes is pretty clearly shown from the reports of the Commissioner of Education. If the inquisitive layman will put his question to the Commissioner, he will be answered by figures and not by wit. These reports, from first to last, cover a period of twenty years,—from 1870 to 1890,—a period of vast improvement in the educational facilities of the United States. Yet of all the "learned professions" the teacher of religion alone seems to have made no advancement. From 1870 to 1890 the increase in the population of this country was enormous; and colleges, churches, church property, church communicants, and the number of Christian ministers all kept pace with the quickstep of the population; but, strange to say, the number of trained men in the pulpits of our land is not greater to-day than it was twenty years ago. In other words, while educational institutions and everything else have advanced with prodigious strides, the number of properly trained clergymen has remained stationary. In 1870 there were about 43,000 ordained ministers of religion in the United States; in 1880, 64,000: and

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yet there were no more trained men among the 64,000 than there were among the 43,000. There has been a very slight improvement during the last ten years, but nothing in proportion to the increase of population.

The Commissioner is no doubt wholly unconscious of the tale his figures have unfolded, and must be adjudged an innocent party in the case. His official duties are those of a statistician, and he has simply tabulated the facts as reported to him, and left them to tell their own story in their own way. That it is a rather sensational one, I think all will agree. But, startling as the Commissioner's report most certainly is, it does not tell the whole story, nor, indeed, the more interesting half of it. The other half comes from a very different source. A professor in one of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity Schools, writing some time ago to one of the Church journals, complained of the poor material sent to him out of which he was expected to make preachers. He seemed to think that parents having a son not particularly bright, and not fit for anything else, piously augur from these circumstances that Heaven intends him for the Church. The worthy professor made a most pathetic protest against this idea, and was bold enough to affirm that brains are very desirable things in the manufacture of efficient clergymen.

This testimony is certainly given by no unfriendly witness, and is, I suppose, perfectly trustworthy so far as it goes,—and it goes a very great way: for the reverend doctor speaks from a long experience,—not among an illiterate folk, but as a teacher of divinity in one of the most enlightened and highly cultivated church communions in America. There seems no reason, therefore, to regard this complaint as an exceptional one, and the condition of affairs must be very bad indeed to force such an *exposé* from one occupying so important a position. It appears, therefore, that not only is the average of trained men in the pulpit much lower than it used to be, but—which is much more important—those who go up to these training-schools are of an inferior order of intelligence. We all know well that a very large number of our best scholars have passed through theological seminaries; still it is true that the average divinity student is not distinguished for his superior intelligence. The Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York, in his address before the Diocesan Convention of 1892, referring to candidates for Holy Orders, and speaking of the great care that should be used by those who indorse them, said:

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"Is it necessary for me to say that the desire, however earnestly expressed, of any one to become a candidate for Holy Orders, is, taken by itself, no slightest evidence of his worthiness to be admitted to such a standing? Is it necessary for me to remind intelligent men, whether of the clergy or laity, that they cannot read their correspondence or go about their daily business without being constantly and painfully reminded of the large and steadily increasing class of persons in Holy Orders who have, only too plainly, gravely misapprehended both the nature of ministerial qualifications, as this Church insists upon them, or the conditions under which, ordinarily, the ministry is to be exercised in these United States? Is it necessary that I should further remind those to whom I speak that if a man is a fool or a knave, the gift of Holy Orders will work no such miracle upon him as will make him a scholar or a saint?"

Now, things must be pretty bad, to justify the Bishop of the great diocese of New York in speaking out in this unequivocal manner. The Bishop speaks of the "large and steadily increasing class" who have "gravely misapprehended" the "qualifications" and "conditions" of the ministry. "Large and steadily increasing!" That is just what the Commissioner's figures show; so that the Bishop's address and the Commissioner's report testify to and prove exactly the same thing; viz., that there is a "large and steadily increasing" number of unfit and incompetent men in the American pulpit.

In the olden time of which Mr. Lowell spoke so eloquently in his Harvard address, the parson was what his name implied,—the chief person of every community. He was always a trained man, of scholastic tastes, and if his reading was narrow, it was reverent and earnest. There seemed to be no question in those days about the necessity of an able and thoroughly educated ministry. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and all our older colleges were founded especially, and almost solely, to fit men for the work of the Christian ministry, and the ascendency of the clergy in those early days was (as Professor Goldwin Smith in his very recent book so pointedly says) "moral and intellectual; it was not that of a caste; and pastors could maintain their influence only by addressing themselves to intelligence."

A very small proportion of Harvard or Yale men are now to be found in the American Pulpit. In every other profession the ratio of specially trained men is constantly advancing; in the Pulpit alone it is receding. Some of the theological training-schools—for example, the Harvard Divinity School and the Union Theological Seminary of New York city—are endeavoring to check the flow of this crude and really bad material by refusing aid to all but the most deserving candidates for the ministry; and they make ability, and not poverty, the test of merit. This keeps some of the deficient—both

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in brains and in means—out of the training-schools; but that it does not keep them out of the Pulpit is pretty clearly proven by the Commissioner's report, so that the effort to raise the standard of the divinity school actually results in lowering the standard of the Pulpit; for it is plain that the most inferior mind could not but be improved by a course of three years' reading under the direction of scholarly men.

It is also a significant and melancholy fact that these two seminaries lost in numbers immediately after they raised their standard. The Union Theological Seminary is the largest and one of the best-equipped schools of divinity in this or any other country; and yet its classes in 1887 (I take the last date before the Briggs case appeared upon the theological horizon) were smaller than in 1870, seventeen years before. The Harvard Divinity School in 1870 had 36 students; in 1887 it had 20,—a falling off of nearly fifty per cent. During the last few years, however, there has been a slight though steady increase in the number of students in both of these schools.

Now why is it that so few of our able young men are drawn to the Pulpit? The usual answer to this question is, Because of the deep and wide-spread skepticism of the times. This, we are constantly being told, is the age of science, and not of faith, and men who are wide awake to the signs of the times are turning away from the dogmas and vain speculations concerning the future life and the supernatural world, to grapple with the hard facts of the present life and the natural world, which fronts them at every turning, and from which there is no escape. That there is a wide-spread skepticism cannot be denied; and that the scientific spirit is its chief source seems equally clear; but that this skepticism is either deep or earnest I do not believe. It is superficial, and of the very thinnest sort; begotten of the superficial culture which—I am afraid, we shall have to confess—is somewhat peculiar to our own times and our own nation.

Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," says that the average intelligence of the American people is above that of any other nation. This is certainly a most flattering thing to say of the youngest of all the nations of the world. But after this very high compliment to our general intelligence he lets our pride down, with true British bluntness, when he adds that, as an offset to this superior enlightenment of the mass of the people, we have fewer first-rate scholars than any other nation. I think this criticism is fair; and I think also that it is much better for a nation to have a high average of general intelligence than to have a few highly trained scholars.

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But my point now is to account for the wide-spread skepticism of our time. Our education is too rapid to be thorough, and a want of earnestness always accompanies a want of thoroughness. We are not a serious people: lightness is one of the conspicuous features of our civilization. But lightness is not to be wholly condemned. It is just as well, now and again, for nations as well as individuals not to take themselves too seriously. "We must be serious-minded now," said Wilberforce, the famous Bishop of Oxford, to some of his merry clerical friends; "for there comes a fool." Just so; but let us frankly admit that we as a people are inclined just a little too far toward the "light" view of things. This has been almost unavoidable thus far, for we have had too many things to do to think very seriously of any one thing. We offer—have been forced to offer—too many rewards for mere smartness, and we do not give sufficient encouragement to thorough study and solid attainments. Mental discipline, habits of honest study, a masterly knowledge of something or other, enable one to perceive the true conditions of all real knowledge. Intellectual discrimination is the important thing just now. Most people know poetry from mathematics; but few seem to understand that the facts of chemistry, geology, and natural history —however interesting in themselves—are wholly different things from religion, have no vital relations with it, and are as far removed in fact from the things of the spirit as mathematics is from poetry.

A well-trained mind does not suffer its intellectual vision to be clouded by false issues or crude and irrelevant questions. It is not only bad manners to ask questions, but it is also evidence of a bad intellectual bringing-up. A well-trained mind seeks to solve its own difficulties, and, if it is in earnest, it usually succeeds. A child can ask questions which a philosopher cannot answer, but it is because the child does not know how to ask the questions, not that the philosopher does not know how to answer them. The child cannot be answered, for the reason that it does not know what it is asking; and nothing is worse than to encourage this childish curiosity; it is fatal to all healthy mental growth. The truly thoughtful child—and man or woman too, for that matter—asks few questions. They commune with themselves and are still. The soul must answer its own questioning. The skepticism of the day, for the most part, is crude and childish, and cannot be answered for the reason that it does not know what it asks. It should be passed by unheeded, except, perhaps, now and then to rebuke the ignorance and want of

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thought which it exposes. There are times when it may be well to "answer a fool according to his folly," but it is generally far better to "answer not a fool according to his folly." I am at least fully persuaded of one thing, namely, that nothing can be worse than for the Pulpit to take any special notice of the shallow and noisy skepticism so prevalent in these days. It is for the most part empty conceit, and Coleridge believed that the best way to cure such complaints in young persons was a vigorous application of the rod,—which proved so effectual in his own case. It will be remembered that Coleridge, when a pupil at the Blue-coat School, one day solemnly informed the head master that he had grave doubts about the Bible and Christianity. The knowing and experienced instructor of youth diagnosed the case without hesitation. He said, "Come this way, my lad, and take off your jacket." He then administered a good dose of the rod, and the boy skeptic was left alone with his thoughts. When he again found himself clothed and in his right mind his vanity was all gone, and his skepticism followed his vanity in due course.

But customs change, and there is now, especially in this country, a strong prejudice against the use of the rod, so that it may not be applied, as in the good old days, as a cure for youthful skepticism, —the more's the pity. The late Professor Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol College, Oxford, was the most tolerant and sympathetic of all men in questions of religion. And well he might be, for he had himself been the object—though happily not the victim—of the most blind and unreasoning religious intolerance and bigotry. But the "Master," as he was always called, knew a genuine case of honest religious doubt from shallow skepticism and puppyish philosophic brag. A self-satisfied undergraduate, who had a thin smattering of philosophy together with a little knowledge of the "Ethnic Religions," met the Master in the "Quad" one day, and, in the conversation that followed, gravely informed the famous heretic, as Dr. Jowett was sometimes called, that he could not find, in all his research, any positive evidence of God. "Indeed," said the Master, "well, you may continue your search till five o'clock to-day, and if you have not found God by that time you will have to leave this college."

The questioning of such jejune skepticism is bad enough, but that it should get any direct or serious attention from the Pulpit is tenfold worse, for it reveals a most deplorable want of intellectual and spiritual perception on the part of the clergy. How can we expect spiritual wisdom, strength, and vision from a Pulpit that is

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constantly being thrown off its balance by all sorts of false issues and wholly irrelevant questions? It is the use of the pulpit for such unreligious and distracting discussions which has lowered the intellectual tone of the clergy and is one of the main causes of the want of power in its members.

But this crudeness of spiritual perception is not the Pulpit's only weakness. If religion means anything it means earnestness; but there seems to be a prevalent notion among the clergy that the chief business of the preacher is to entertain and amuse.

And now, however weak such a Pulpit may be, it has at least the one fatal power of perpetuating itself; for, look you, a well-trained and earnest young man, in seeking some field in which to do his life's work, naturally turns away from a profession which has such lofty pretensions and such barren results.

Again, there is an unmistakable feeling abroad—one which cannot be blinked—that the clergy are impostors, by teaching what they do not believe, and by undertaking work which they do not perform. How many of the educated clergy believe in "original" (that is, inherited) sin?—believe that "in Adam's fall we sinned all"? How many believe in everlasting punishment?—in predestination?—in total depravity?—in the inerrancy of the Bible? If our Pulpit would frankly discard these unbelievable dogmas, it would gain at once that influence and power which honesty alone can command. The other feeling—that the clergy undertake work which they do not perform—is in my opinion an unjust and mistaken feeling. The clergy of all the churches are doing more good work as pastors than ever before. They are in fact doing about all the charitable and humanitarian work that is being done; while your philosopher and your skeptic are doing almost nothing.

But my subject is the Pulpit, and not the pastor, and I have said this much concerning the pastor in evidence of the fact that my purpose is not wholly that of a fault-finder. Indeed, if I understand the true motive which prompts me to write this paper, it is a deep love for the Pulpit, and not a mere disposition to find fault with it.

I doubt if it is ever wise for the preacher to bring into his pulpit the "topics of the hour," be they financial, political, or social. The utterances from the pulpit on labor troubles and other social questions have gone a great way toward weakening the influence of the clergy; for the reason that these crude expressions have revealed the fact that the preacher does not always take the trouble to know a thing

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before he presumes to pronounce judgment upon it. "False in one thing, false in all things," is the logic of the masses. The late Bishop of Massachusetts—or Phillips Brooks, as we all prefer to call him—once said that he thanked God he had never written a sermon on "Science and Religion." It is also true, I believe, that he never preached a sermon on the "topics of the hour." The "up-to-date" preacher is up to very poor business. That the preacher should be fully awake to what is going on about him is one thing; that he should make his pulpit a platform for haranguing the people upon all sorts of questions is another, and, as I believe, a fatal thing; and the true spiritual teacher and leader sees it, knows it, and avoids it.

Vision—spiritual vision—is what the Pulpit needs. All great preachers are at heart poets; for religion is always and everywhere poetry,—not prose. Poetry is the true, the only language of the spirit. It is the poetical and not the scientific key, that unlocks the beauties of the Bible, the beauties of Nature, the beauties of the soul. We want more poetry and less prose in the pulpit.

> "Out from the heart of Nature rolled,
> The burdens of the Bible old.
> The litanies of nations came,
> Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
> Up from the burning core below,
> The canticles of love and woe."

These lines are the key to the whole subject, and give more light to the spiritual eye than volumes of commentaries. Intuition, spiritual insight, the poetical mind and heart, see far beyond the dull horizon of the mere understanding. I repeat that the preacher should be a poet in the poise of his mind and the attitude of his thought.

But the truth is, sad to say, that the Pulpit in a great part is materialistic rather than spiritual in its tone and feeling. The training-schools are in a great measure responsible for this false ring of the Pulpit. Much of the "school divinity" has always been the very reverse of spiritual. What is the doctrine of "original sin" but bald materialism? Did Mr. Huxley ever write anything more materialistic in its conclusions than Dean Mansel's "Bampton Lectures"? There is more of the true ring of the spirit in one page of Tennyson, or Emerson, or Phillips Brooks, than in whole systems of school theology. The American Pulpit needs an awakening, such as the English Pulpit experienced a half-century or so ago, caused by the spiritual force of the poet-philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

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Locke, Hobbs, Paley, and the rest of the Utilitarian—that is, materialistic—school had well-nigh quenched the spirit when Coleridge began his luminous discourses on the Intuitional Philosophy, and it was not long before the resistless flow of this spiritual river carried everything before it. Locke, Bentham, Hartley (Coleridge's former master), and the elder Mill were all swept away as so much rubbish and dead wood before this mighty spiritual flood. Intuition has held its ground in England ever since, and such glorious preachers and spiritual guides as Robertson, Maurice, Stanley, and Kingsley, are some of its spiritual results.

The younger Mill and Mr. Spencer have tried to galvanize the old Materialism into new life under a new name. But it has the same mechanical movement, the same metallic sound; and its approach has been heard and seen and arrested by two great spiritual and intuitional clergymen and philosophers: the Rev. Dr. James Martineau, on the outer walls; and Dr. Temple, the present Bishop of London, within the church. The spiritual power of the English Church has seldom been stronger than at the present moment. The very best minds of England are to be found in its pulpit, and among her devout laymen may be mentioned such names as Gladstone and the Marquis of Salisbury. The English Pulpit cannot be drawn by the scientific fly. The importance given in this country and in our pulpits to the utterances of such men as Tyndall, Spencer, Huxley, and Harrison, upon religious matters, is worse than absurd; it is mournful. They receive no such attention in England, and I have never heard the slightest reference made to them by any English clergyman in his public ministrations. I was in England at the time of the great excitement in the United States over the Spencer-Harrison discussion. The American papers came to London heavily freighted with the all-absorbing subject. But just why the American public should take such a lively interest in the religious speculations of two English skeptics was a little perplexing to the easy-going British people. One London journal, in noticing the matter, said: "We can't for the life of us see why the quarrel of these fellows Spencer and Harrison, over the ghost of religion, should kick up such a deuce of a row among our kinsfolk on the other side."

Now we all know that these gentlemen are authorities in their own chosen field of research, but they are certainly not authorities in religious matters, and that their names and their works should be so frequently mentioned in our pulpits is simply scandalous. It is, I

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think, safe to say that Professor Tyndall's "prayer gauge" has been made the subject of thousands of pulpit discourses in this country. Now a preacher with any sort of spiritual vision is not to be drawn by such an artificial fly, nor befogged by such an utterly false issue. A man with any religious sense, with any spiritual eyesight, sees through such a blind as quick as thought; and the man who has not this gift of sight has no call to preach. Without this clear eye of the soul he will be forever groping in the dark or chasing some will-o-the-wisp. When the gods are absent, ghosts crowd in. What is "spiritualism," what is theosophy, but the ghosts of an untrained and diseased imagination?

Men and women have always been willing and anxious to be led by the spirit rather than the senses, if they can only find the leaders. He takes a very shallow and a very false view of human nature who thinks that mankind prefers the material to the ideal; the things of the flesh to the things of the spirit. No real leader of men ever thought this, and a preacher is nothing if he is not a leader. "Young men of Italy," said Garibaldi, "if you love your country, follow me. I have nothing to offer you but rags and hunger, the prison and death; but if you love your country, follow me." And they followed him and achieved Italian unity in the face of bulls of excommunication and threats of everlasting damnation from the Vatican. The young men of Italy would not be bullied by the Pope. The people of America will not be bullied by the Pulpit. The Pulpit can no longer appeal to the motive of fear. Let it appeal to the ideal, the beautiful, and it will not appeal in vain.

The churches and the pastors of this land have done, and are still doing, a great work for morality and religion. But this work is not keeping pace with the growth of the nation. The Pulpit is losing its hold upon the life and thought of the people, because it is losing its spiritual eyesight. If the preacher has but the eye to see and the tongue to express the glories of the Kingdom of God, men will hear him gladly. When William Blake, the poet-painter, was asked if he saw the rising sun, he answered: "No! No! I see a heavenly host, and I hear them chanting 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy Glory.'" He saw with the spiritual eye, and he heard with the spiritual ear, of the poet; and he who cannot thus see, and hear, to him "has not been given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God."

G. Monroe Royce.

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THE NEW SECTIONALISM: A WESTERN WARNING TO THE EAST.

ONE of the leading Western newspapers thus sums up the present status of the silver question from the point of view of this section of the country: "The silver campaign is not nearly over. The Bull's-Run campaign only has been fought. The Gettysburg victory comes next year, and in 1896 the gold-bug's Appomattox." As the West is still so determined, it may be interesting to explain the rise of this Silver Agitation and look into its probable effects.

One hears it often said in the East that the silver problem is strictly a business problem, to be decided along strictly business lines, by strictly business men. As far as the West is concerned, there never was a more fatal delusion. Here the question is preëminently a moral one. In fact one might almost liken the Western free-coinage propaganda to the religious doctrines of the early Middle Ages, so deep-rooted is the Westerner's belief in its dogma. To many, no doubt, it may seem strange that a dry question of business exchanges should thus in the course of a few years have become a cult, and should have had infused into it the coursing blood of a crusade movement; and yet, if one but takes the trouble to analyze the phenomenon historically, the causes become apparent enough.

That all-important question, whether gold has risen in value or silver has gradually fallen in comparison with our staple commodities, has, oddly enough, scarcely been seriously considered by the Western people. They know as a matter of fact that during the last twenty years silver has been less and less used as a standard money-metal by the great commercial nations of the world; and they have noted all this time that its price as expressed in gold has continually fallen. That this depreciation has been caused by the decrease in the demand for silver brought about by these successive acts of demonetization, has seemed to them self-evident. Little credence has therefore been put in the converse theory, that the decline in the price of silver is due to the continual cheapening in its cost of production. As a result one may safely assert that to-day almost every man, woman,

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and child of the West has accepted it as an established truth that it is neither staple products nor silver bullion that has depreciated in value, but that gold has appreciated during the last quarter of a century. Historically it is not necessary to go further back than twenty-five years; for within this time the Western feeling has grown up which lies at the very root of the Silver Agitation and has proved to be the efficient cause of the present wretched condition of the country's finances. It may be interesting, therefore, to follow the spread of this conviction by tracing the older business question of the East through its successive evolutions to its final development into the modern propaganda of this Rocky Mountain region.

For twenty years and more the Western ranchmen have been pushing out farther beyond the Mississippi, redeeming new lands, and continually adding to the yearly produce of our country. These pioneers of America's advancing civilization came of course originally from the Eastern States, and for years they clung fast to their early traditions and sentiments. Of late, however, the force of environment has begun to exert its subtle influence upon them, till to-day one sees about him on the plains a population distinctly Western in character. It is, indeed, but the same old story of all early colonies. Amid their hardships and their hard-earned successes, children were born to the Western frontiersmen, and these children of the prairies know little or naught of Eastern ways. It was quite natural, then, that, in building up their outpost homes and providing for their growing families, the old folks, too, in time should come to look upon their former Eastern hamlets as but memories of bygone days. Since then, moreover, these very children of the West have grown up, intermarried, and are now rearing to manhood a second generation of the plains. The tendrils of an independent social and economic life have thus for the last twenty years been creeping out further and further over this district we call "the West." The roots of this promising unity are now deep down in the Rockies, and its shoots, constantly intertwining, one may follow far out in every direction.

Until quite recently the ties which thus began to unite these Westerners so compactly together were still merely social in character. All that was needed, however, was for some common cause to arise, some common end to be conceived, in order that this looser social bond might be firmly welded into the stronger links of a political union; and such an impulse was given by the Silver Question. One

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by one the bonds which used to bind the rising West so closely to the staid old East have in time grown weaker, been loosened, and finally broken. One chain of union, however, has all these years remained fast; and from time to time its links have been strengthened; and this is the financial bond which has ever kept the Western farmer closely shackled to his earlier Eastern home.

By the very necessity of the case the settler of this region has ever been a borrower of Eastern capital. He needed money at the outset to redeem the barren lands stretching out before him. He has needed extra funds ever since to enlarge his original holding. With his face turned resolutely toward the setting sun, for years the Western farmer has toiled assiduously, striving to save enough to pay off his Eastern debt after providing at least a decent living for his family. The harder he labored, and the greater the amount of produce he sent to the Eastern markets, just so much the more difficult—or so it seemed to him—it grew to keep up with the ever-accruing interest on his Eastern farm-mortgage. This strange contradiction grew year by year more apparent, and, though he discussed it vigorously with his neighbors, still for a long time the true causes of the difficulty were beyond his comprehension.

One day, not so very long ago, the silver miner of the mountains came to the relief of the perplexed and bewildered farmer, bent upon enlisting him in his own particular cause of free coinage. The miner also had for the last twenty years been unremittingly toiling, prospecting and digging among the foot-hills and along the range. Like his neighbor, the farmer, he too had discovered that his ever-increasing labor tended to reward him only with constantly decreasing returns. The cause of the trouble lay, however, nearer home to him, and he was not slow to grasp it. Europe and the East had secretly demonetized his metal to serve their own ends. At least so he understood it, and from this conception of the case only a war to the very knife with the Money Power of the Eastern States could save him. Alone, he was wise enough to see, he would be powerless in the struggle; but, noting his farmer friend in much the same plight as himself, and being honestly convinced that the cause of both their troubles was one and the same, he resolved at once to enlighten his suffering brother and to draw him over to the cause of silver.

Reinforcing his own natural conclusions with such general facts

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and arguments as could apply to the farmer's case as well, he descended forthwith from his mine in the mountains to the ranch of the plains. There he came upon the farmer, working now in sullen desperation. Accosting him he asked:

"Are you blind? Can it be possible that you are still ignorant of the all-too-palpable fact that, while you have been slaving here on the prairies, enormously increasing the products of the United States and therewith our necessary business exchanges, your creditor friends of the East have played you false, and that, too, the moment your back was turned?"

"No," replied the surprised farmer: "indeed I knew naught of this. I realized full well that my plight was wretched; but still I suspected no treachery."

Then the miner replied: "Well, listen then, while I enlighten your ignorance. Instead of coöperating with you in your toil, by establishing an ever-expanding circulating medium to carry out the business exchanges that you by your ever-increasing labors have brought to pass, these very Eastern creditors of yours, whom you so blindly trust, ruthlessly and in secret struck down just one-half of that legal circulating medium granted you by your fathers. Nay, more: not only have these greedy capitalists robbed you of one-half of your lawful money; but they have left that particular half which has appreciated in value and which must in the future continually appreciate in value."

Although amazed at this action on the part of the East, still the farmer could not yet see how all this applied directly to him, nor just where it struck at the root of his own troubles. The miner expected as much, however, and, satisfied at least that he had aroused the farmer's interest, he continued his questioning:

"Can you not see that this shoe is pinching both you and me in exactly the same place? Consider the case abstractly for a moment: you, by raising new products, are all the time adding to the number of business exchanges to be carried on in the country; while they, on the other hand, through the demonetization of silver, have already reduced by one-half the volume of the circulating medium necessary to facilitate such exchanges. There is in the country, therefore, not even half enough money left to carry on its legitimate business transactions, and that little which still remains is, moreover, constantly increasing in value from natural causes. Each bit of money in existence must consequently be made to do at least double

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work, in order that all the exchanges be carried out. What you sold some years ago for a dollar you must now part with for fifty cents, in order that your Eastern buyers, forsooth, may still have enough fifty-cent-bits left over to purchase the extra produce you nowadays raise. You toil much harder and still grow no richer; they continue to have the same sum of money, and they give out and receive therefor not only all that they did before, but also the fruit of your extra toil."

The farmer still listened attentively, but was far too shrewd at first to be caught in any circle of reasoning so palpably vicious as this. "Your own logic convicts you," he replied, after some thought; "for, if we farmers can buy with the fifty-cent-bits we now receive the very same amount of supplies from the Eastern manufacturers as we did with our dollars before, how are we any the worse off than before?"

The miner smiled. This was the point he most wished to raise in order to clinch his argument. He asked: "Can you also pay the interest you owe these Eastern men with these self-same fifty-cent-bits? Have your Eastern creditors, in other words, remitted your indebtedness to them by one-half, even as they have reduced your prices? By no means. Your debt you must still pay to the avaricious Easterner, dollar for dollar, even as you contracted. In short, as the currency of the land has been cut down one-half, and, inasmuch as the half which is left is continually rising in value, your case, like ours, is practically reduced to this: the harder you toil, the lower the prices you receive for your produce, but the higher the interest you must pay to your Eastern creditors; and surely this is unjust."

A ray of light then began to pierce the darkness of the farmer's understanding. Here, at last, was a tangible—and apparently probable—cause of all his troubles. Naturally slow to move, however, he was still loath to agree to the main proposition, until he had grasped the efficiency of the remedy proposed. "Suppose, then, we admit," he replied, "that, as you say, such are the causes of your ills: what would you have us do to bring about a better state of affairs?"

"We would have you join your cause with ours," was the miner's prompt response, "and demand with us from the Government the free and unlimited coinage of silver."

At this point the farmer grew a trifle incredulous, again, as to the disinterestedness of his would-be miner ally. "It is apparent enough," he objected, "why you miners are so eager to reëstablish

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the free coinage of your white metal at the old ratio to gold; for thenceforth you would be sure of receiving a steady though fictitious price for your product, even if in the future it continue to depreciate in value as it has done in the past. You seem, then, to be asking us to link our farm produce, which year by year we must labor even as assiduously as before to obtain, with the output of your mines, which on the contrary is tending to increase in volume in proportion to the labor involved. By the sweat of our brows, as I understand it, we are to support you in comparative idleness, receiving in payment for three-days' labor by us an amount of your silver at the old fictitious ratio which will cost you perhaps but one day's labor now to extract. How, then, may I ask, will your free-coinage law in any way benefit us?"

"In this way," the silver-miner answered, sure of his advantage, and not at all disturbed by this last outbreak of his friend. "Should you agree to enlist in our cause, and should we two, fighting side by side, gain our ultimate victory over the Gold Power of the East, then we silver-miners would not only at once put at the disposal of you farmers such an amount of money as would be sufficient to facilitate the business transactions that you have made necessary during the last twenty years, but, further, we would see to it that our labors among the mountains should so expand the volume of the currency that it keep pace henceforth with those new exchanges that your future agricultural toil must bring about. Not only, then, would you receive in the days to come continually better and better prices for your farm produce in the markets of the East, but you would also find before you, within easy reach, cheap money wherewith you might the more readily pay off your onerous Eastern debts,—and, moreover, dollar for dollar as you contracted for. It is a paucity of money, in short, which is at the bottom of all your woes. Now we offer to change all that, and, with your aid, to provide an abundant supply of the circulating medium, and—cheaper than ever before."

The silver-miner succeeded. The personal interest of the farmer was at last aroused. He longed now to be thoroughly convinced of the truth of this specious argument; so almost tremblingly he then asked for the final proofs. The silver-champion, expecting this, had come prepared. Reaching down into his leathern wallet he pulled forth his statistical tables, and unfolded them before his expectant questioner. There in long parallel columns were set forth before the gaze of the astonished farmer, on the one side the average gold

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price of farm staples, and on the other the price of silver bullion, also expressed in gold, from the year 1873 down to the present time. On either side a constant, steady depreciation was at once apparent; but, more significant still, as the eye of the now absorbed farmer eagerly ran down the figures, he could not fail to notice that, year by year, the fall in the price of his own agricultural products had exactly tallied with that well-known depreciation of silver bullion that he himself had alluded to. Noting the impression his statistics were producing on his neighbor's mind, the miner continued exultantly:

"You see your products and mine have gone their way downhill together. For years we two have been toiling with never-tiring energy, and yet, as you now perceive, we have labored for an ever-decreasing reward. And why is it?—you still ask. As I told you before, simply because the only money metal left us by our treacherous Eastern friends has itself been constantly rising in value. It must now at least be evident, from the facts themselves, that it is neither the produce of your farmers, nor indeed the product of our mines, which has really depreciated, but rather gold itself, our standard money, which has steadily appreciated in value."

The figures thus presented by the miner were not only supported by a host of authorities, but they were convincingly arranged. There was no longer any room for doubt; so, with the enthusiastic zest born of ultimate conviction, the farmer of the prairies at last joined hands with the silver-miner of the mountains, swearing to fight for free and unlimited coinage, from that time on, with all his heart and soul.

The West thus became a unit on the silver question, with never a word from the East. Self-interest told the miner wherein his own salvation lay, and he in turn convinced the farmer by applying the self-same logic to his case. There being no business interests in this region the very existence of which does not depend upon the support either of the agriculturists or of the miners, to each and every Westerner the free coinage of silver became at once an intensely personal question, involving, as they all honestly believe, that most sacred right to the fruits of their own toil. Against them they fancy they see arrayed the great Moneyed Powers of Europe and the East, ready to snatch the very bread from their mouths, and anxious only to shackle them more closely to their vested interests in the future than they have enslaved them already in the past. Can it be a matter of surprise, therefore, that a people who were already

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socially amalgamated should now unite in a strong political party to accomplish their end, especially when the personal interests and honest convictions of every one demand the same reform?

At just what points the logic of the Westerner's financial policy could be punctured, or, indeed, where his statistics might be proved fallacious and misleading, it is not my purpose here to consider, because we are no longer dealing with an abstract question of finance, but are rather confronted once more in our national life by a potent sectional force. The specious argument of the original silver champions has long since been lifted above the controversial stage in these parts. The conversion of the people has been accomplished. The early missionaries from the mountains have now become canonized. The doctrine of free silver is to-day the sacred dogma of the West, and all her people are orthodox.

If such be the true state of affairs, it is certainly pertinent to ask just now what will be the probable outcome of it all. Admitting the ultimate soundness of the financial views of the East, no shrewd observer can, however, fail to see that circumstances, and perhaps her own apathy in the matter, have placed her to-day in an extremely critical position. Desirous though she may be for the continued use of silver in our currency system, she is still wise enough to recognize that any plan of national bimetallism would eventually land us on the pure silver standard, to the detriment of the business-life of the whole country. Could only some international agreement be reached in favor of silver coinage, the demands of the West might indeed be met and benefits accrue to all parties. With the states of Europe under an impending war-cloud, and each hoarding its gold for the emergency, this plan unfortunately can scarcely be seriously considered. On the other side, however, the impetuous West is pushing on, threatening to submerge the East with its very impetuosity, scorning the action of Gresham's law, and scoffing at it as a ruse of the gold men. To uphold the financial system of the country, the East must therefore check the force of the Western Silver Agitation at least till the European struggle is past. Were it, then, a question only between the East and the West, the issue might now be said to be joined. There is, however, another political factor to be considered. The South has not yet been definitely heard from on the Silver question. It would seem, then, that the South holds the key to the entire situation. Upon her ultimate alliance, indeed, may depend the final victory.

Early in the action the West was shrewd enough to grasp this

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salient point, and for months past her emissaries have been hard at work among the plantations of the South, drumming up recruits for the cause of silver. Much the same arguments are now being used in the Southern States as were successful before in converting the ranchmen of the plains. Knowing that the Southern planters had still their heavy debt to pay, contracted during the period of reconstruction, and being convinced that they, too, had been obliged to sell their crops during the last twenty years in a constantly falling market, the Westerners, with their scheme for cheap and plentiful money, are once again employing that all-powerful lever of personal interest to shift the Southern States to their side. To win and to hold the South to their cause, these clever politicians have furthermore added a free-trade plank to their original silver platform. Instead of fighting for free coinage alone, the West now offers to broaden the campaign and to enter into a struggle with the South against the North-East for "Free Silver and Free Trade between the Free Americas." St. Louis, seeing her advantage, has promised to coöperate with the allies and become the bond of union between them. As a manufacturing district and at the same time a commercial centre, St. Louis offers to receive the products of the South and the West, and to dispose of them by opening up a trade with the Spanish American Republics and the Silver-standard States of the far East. The old-time importance of the Mississippi route would thus be reëstablished, and St. Louis at last get the advantage of her geographical position. In this way the Western people hope eventually to boycott the East and to bring her to terms. Her manufacturing interests, they say, must decline if they cut off her supply of raw materials; while at the same time the industries of the Mississippi valley will be forced into prominence. On the basis of free silver and free trade, a flourishing trade must then spring up with the Silver-standard countries, which all need our products, and in the end the Eastern States will find themselves cut off from this market that they are so anxious to retain. Such was the plan matured during the summer months. Since then a notable convention has been held in St. Louis to further the scheme, and, if we may judge from the enthusiasm there aroused and the resolutions adopted, it would seem indeed that the seeds of this fanciful project have not fallen on barren ground.

Meantime the East continues to argue the same old abstract question of finance; and while the East is aimlessly endeavoring to explain to the Western people the errors of their ways, the Western

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people in turn are quietly bringing the South to their way of thinking, under the very nose of the East. Before the South, too, becomes solid on this silver question, should not the East now bestir herself? If, as the Western newspapers now say, the campaign is but begun, must there not be a thorough reorganization of the lines before next year's Gettysburg is fought? It is time that the East should, in her own and the country's interests, understand at last the political power of the unified West.

Some more stable arrangement must be made in our currency system before long, if the credit of the country is to be upheld in its foreign dealings. This can no longer be done along old party lines, but only when the different industrial sections of the United States recognize each other's wants and come more into accord. Our country is now too large, its interests have become much too diversified, to be ruled from any one district or dominated by any one class. Just as individuality has been the life-blood of our social organism, so of necessity must sectionality in the future be the essence of our body politic. The spirit of Americanism is nowadays far too widespread to be dissipated by any local patriotism, and though indeed the East may rightly demand that one and all stand firm on the basis of American nationality, still she should see that, as a country, we can grow and be commercially powerful among our neighbors, and the needs of the other sections, the South, the West, and even the Pacific Slope, each be accorded due weight in legislation.

The North and the South long since developed characters of their own, and in time each forced the other to respect its sectional convictions. Since '49 the Pacific Slope also has been continually making its opinions felt, and now at last the West is raising its voice in Congress. Thus far she has been accorded but little attention from the East, and as a result she has now become rebellious. Bent on acquiring the ends she honestly believes to be just, she has consequently ceased to care much about the means she employs, and thus the present juncture has become critical.

To the East we must look for the wisest solution of our present monetary problem. She can meet the issue, however, only by recognizing once for all that, though our system of government remains representative in character, the basis of such representation consists to-day not so much in the older political units—the States—as in the natural economic sections of the country.

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ARE MORALS IMPROVING OR DETERIORATING?

A REMARKABLE forecast, entitled "National Life and Character," has recently made its appearance, written by Charles H. Pearson, formerly Minister of Education in Victoria, and an author of some distinction. The argument of this book is that for the political and social world a stationary period, followed by retrogression, is soon to come. The onward march of civilization is certain to be checked by uncivilized or half-civilized peoples, and when the outreaching energy is thrown back upon itself, stagnation will follow, individual initiative will be abated, state socialism will ensue, and character will deteriorate. What will then occur the author does not say, and does not pretend to know. For the day he anticipates, sufficient will be the evil.

It is always a mark of the true social philosopher, differentiating him from the empiric, that he examines individual character to find the explanation of prevailing laws, forms of government, and social customs. A given society is determined by the prevalent types of character among those forming the community. Men will act in accordance with their dispositions established by heredity, environment and habit. Accordingly, Mr. Pearson gives proof of the thoroughness of his study when he makes national progress or retrogression dependent, in its ultimate analysis, on character, and directs his inquiries to ascertaining what are the influences formative of this dispositional force which makes society what it is. His conclusions are rather pessimistic—

> "It is now more than probable that our science, our civilization, our great and real advance in the practice of government, are only bringing us nearer to the day when the lower races will predominate in the world, when the higher races will lose their noblest elements, when we shall ask nothing from the day but to live, nor from the future but that we may not deteriorate."

It is not the purpose of this article to review Mr. Pearson's extremely interesting book, but to discuss a topic suggested by it, which is also in the minds of many other thinkers at the present time; namely, whether the influences which make human beings what they are, in

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our day and generation, are such as to improve the social order, or are disintegrative of it. Are enlightened people of to-day more moral than they were under the *régime* of authority,—authority of State or Church? Or has the inauguration of an era of greater individual freedom of action and of thought brought with it a decline in morality?

This inquiry is of importance because if we have society at all we must have morality; for morality involves conduct of individuals toward one another, and requires such action as will enable people to dwell together in a community. If we become impatient and say, "We will have nothing of society; all we want is liberty"; we shall discover that humanity, being of two sexes, will inevitably form at least the family, which is the beginning of society. Moreover, we cannot escape the gregariousness of the race, the natural appetite of man for the company of his fellows. This being so, we shall further learn that the very condition (and the guarantee) of individual liberty, is social liberty, which is the limited right of each to do the things all may do, and of all to do what any one may do. It is necessary for the liberty of each individual that the liberty of all be respected; otherwise he is in danger of losing the advantages he hopes to gain from the social state. He is without security. Thus, when man comes to demand the highest degree of individual liberty, he finds that practically he can attain it only under the limitations of a complete and equal social liberty.

If, then, the question propounded above be of importance, it certainly is of consequence to ascertain clearly in what morality consists. It may be suspected that over the ambiguities of the term, and misunderstandings respecting its true meaning, has arisen much of the contrariety of opinion as to the prevalence of good and bad morals at different times. There has been a persistent determination to limit the meaning of "morality" in one way or another, instead of giving it a broad signification which enables us to form ethical rules that apply universally. Among the ancients, we know, virtue meant courage. Sometimes loyalty to the king is the supreme test of morality. Among women very extensively, and frequently among men, "immorality" signifies sexual irregularity. They say, "This person is a defaulter, is cruel to his wife, is a drunkard, but he is not immoral." A great many religious teachers believe and inculcate the doctrine that there can be no morality in thought, word, or deed, except under the inspiration of the spirit of God in the soul. As some hold, the same act may be moral or immoral, according to its

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motive. Burning heretics was at one time ethically justified, while acts which involve no injury to anyone except the person committing them have been, and still are, denounced as the worst immorality. So, it readily appears that the question whether the world is gaining or losing in morality will have to be answered very differently, according to the point of view as to the meaning of the term.

Without going into a discussion of the different ethical theories and the Rule of Right and Wrong as deduced from them, we cannot avoid seeing that the hedonistic, or social welfare, doctrine has been increasingly, and more and more decisively, superseding those notions which make moral conduct dependent on obedience to authority. Quite irrespective of theoretical truth, which we are not now concerned to establish, the fact is, people generally obey the Ten Commandments, so far as they do obey, not because Jehovah enjoined them, but because it is for the common interest that men should not kill, steal, or commit perjury. We ourselves must do only those things which we can permit others to do. Hence, now that the tablets of the law, written with the finger of God, have been shattered, those are not wanting who cry out against the hopeless and ever-increasing depravity of a world which has gone a-wandering after other deities or refuses even to set up an altar to the Unknown God.

It may be freely admitted that, so far as moral or immoral conduct is to be judged by rules, ordinances, or customs which receive their sanction from merely religious or ecclesiastical authority, there has been a very complete and even startling lapse from former conditions. From this point of view, we may note deterioration of moral sentiment in the increased feeling against established churches, for example. The problem, where they exist, is rapidly resolving itself into a question of how to get rid of them with the least trouble and disturbance. The abolition of all privileges to churches and the clergy may, on the same line of reasoning, be considered as evincive of a decline of moral sentiment. Coming down to personal matters, so also may be viewed the increasing reluctance to attend church on the Sabbath and the growing inclination to go fishing on that day. Fishing on Sunday is prohibited by penal statute in the State of New York. It is thus a crime, but most people do not consider it immoral and many disregard the law without the slightest compunction. Hence, from all such circumstances theological arguments may be brought forward to prove moral decadence. If this line of argument is sound the civilized world is, indeed, growing worse;

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and the universality of sin among people of grades of intelligence above that of the Russian peasant must unhesitatingly be conceded.

But if the criterion of morality be the stability of the social order, the prosperity and happiness of the community, an entirely different picture is presented. The broader inference may be drawn that the greater the general welfare, the more perfect the morality. That this argument will be objected to with vehemence I doubt not; but I am convinced that it is a perfectly valid one and will stand the test of full examination, though I can do little more than suggest it, within the limits of the present article. The greater the amount of happiness in the community generally, the more clear is the evidence that individuals act at least according to the maxim, Do not unto others as you would not have them do to you. There is at any rate no infringement of others' rights. And, as it is often argued with some force that men will not refrain from injuring others unless they have within a benevolent spirit prompting them to do good, so it is legitimate to infer the moral intent from the negative conduct. But this is not all. No community flourishes unless there is active coöperation. Each does something for all and all do something for each. Increasing prosperity thus means more thorough coöperation. This last does not occur without the desire to assist, without pleasure in another's good fortune and not in his woe. The objects of life which people set before them include the welfare of their neighbors. They have an interest in the thrift of others. Village pride, civic pride, neighborhood pride, all come into play, and the general morality is improved. Thus a rise in the level of happiness and general welfare in the community eventually carries with it and implies a moral gain.

This principle, however, must not be applied without generalizing from all the facts and including a wide enough range of data. Where there are great inequalities of condition, we ought not to argue from the upper classes. We must not say, for example, that morality is improving in New York, because fine residences are increasing in number, or because the rich are becoming richer. The poorer classes must be considered. If we ascertain that they are becoming more miserable, we shall find a decline of morals somewhere. If, on the other hand, they are moving upward in the social and economic scale, the argument of improved moral condition holds good. It is the general level, the average status of the community, that is to be taken into account.

A good social order involves security in the fundamental rights

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of life, liberty and property. The change from a militant to an industrial civilization, wherever it occurs, diminishes the chances of that greatest disorganizer of society, that breeder of the worst and most dreadful immoralities—war. Wherever this ceases to be a danger pressing upon the minds of the citizens, the most terrible injuries which human beings can inflict upon each other are reduced to isolated and occasional cases, instead of being perpetrated by wholesale. It is sometimes said that war develops the highest virtues—patriotism, bravery, self-abnegation of all sorts. So it does: it would be a pity if it did not have some compensations. Nevertheless, killing and the torture of human beings are its method, and the murdering of those who have never harmed their murderers. It may be a more virtuous act to shoot a man who never even insulted you, with whom in fact you have not the slightest acquaintance, than to kill one who has given you provocation; but neither act can be said to fulfil that altruistic rule of conduct in which Jesus of Nazareth summed up the moral law. Warfare is the exclusion of all morality; and the fact that, when the battle is over, moral conduct returns does not make the killing any more ethical.

If it had been the case that the decline of authority, monarchical or ecclesiastical, had resulted in more frequent appeals to arms in civilized societies, either in foreign contests or intestine commotions resulting in anarchic conditions, it might be urged that men cannot be trusted with liberty. But, allowing for exceptions and surveying the whole field, the result has been exactly contrary. The United States will be taken as the prominent example among the nations of the earth. The probabilities of any disturbance of the peace are so small, security of life and property is so great, that government is neglected. People are too busy to look after political affairs. If bad men get into office, men laugh and express themselves in contemptuous terms, but feel no alarm. They know that the commercial and industrial aims of a nation in which the profession of the soldier is merged in that of the policeman, preclude serious disorder. Riots there may be on special occasions; but there is no threatening of liberty, no one who, as Cæsar used to say in accusation of Gallic leaders, is plotting "new things." The very fact that wealthy and intelligent citizens neglect politics shows increased security, a more stable condition. This in its turn goes to prove a better moral disposition on the part of individuals, such a character as not only justifies the removal of the restraints of authority heretofore imposed, but encour-

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ages the belief that the sphere of governmental action can safely, and will be, still further limited.

What is true regarding personal safety, and immunity from assault, is equally true of property. Ownership of land is secure and personal effects are generally safe. Crimes against private property are not on the increase in civilized countries, and certainly not in the United States. The occupations of robbery and theft are difficult and unremunerative. There are easier ways to make money. Few men choose to be robbers, and when they do they regret their choice; nor is thieving becoming any more popular as an industrial pursuit. On the artistic side it has developed somewhat, like all other occupations, but there is not much in it except perhaps when pursued for its own sake irrespective of results. Possibly, with some, vice as well as virtue may be its own reward.

When we come to public peculation, it must be confessed, democracy does not appear to advantage. The use of public office for private ends, the neglect of duties, eagerness to get hold of public money for individual benefit, whether it be in subsidies, lucrative contracts, undeserved pensions or sinecure offices, are conspicuous enough and do not indicate high moral tone. But all these are the peculiar vices of industrial and commercial competition, in which money-getting is the chief end of efforts. In the United States they have not led to crimes of violence, and where they have been flagrantly exhibited they have been rebuked and the offenders punished. Professor Bryce, in his work entitled, "The American Commonwealth," asserts that in the last twenty-five years there has been a decided improvement in the management of city administrations, where dishonesties of the kind we are considering are most frequent and prominent. This view is confirmed by President Low, who contributes to the book, and must, I think, be sustained by any careful observer. As to the whole country, the same authority believes that political morality is gaining ground rather than declining.

Growing out of that misconception of the meaning of morality to which I have made allusion, it will be contended that the loss of respect for authority, particularly religious authority, has taken away that uplifting force which alone prevents men and women from sinking to depths of bestiality in the matter of personal morals. It must not be forgotten that the measure of morality and immorality in conduct is the injury to others. Hence a direct wrong is more immoral than an indirect one. He who steals my purse does a deed of greater

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immorality than he who visits the saloon and goes away in a state of intoxication. The business-man who cheats his fellow in the street should not be considered less immoral in that act than when he spends his evening in a house of harlotry. This may be news to some people. If so, it is news which ought to be more widely disseminated. For centuries the church covered up its own oppressions and extortions, its lust for power and wealth, attained by grinding the face of the poor, by preaching the worst punishments of hell for personal indulgence—which, however, could be commuted to a fine payable in this world. The same delusion exists in many quarters to-day. The pious church man who will lie and defraud in business, taking every advantage of ignorance or weakness, striking from the poor man's hand his daily bread, believes himself "moral"; while he denounces the "immorality" of the wretch he sees in the gutter, who, maybe, has gone to destruction because he has found respectable people holding the moral law to be comprised in the ideas that "business is business," and that self-indulgence deprives men even of the right to live! In Paris, it is said, the police generally arrest the man who is run over by a vehicle in the street. This seems to be the principle on which society deals with its outcasts.

But though we must relegate to a secondary position, in the list of immoralities, personal appetitive indulgences, we are by no means to lose sight of their deleterious effects upon character and thus of their indirect injurious effect. Yet, if the maxim, *In vino veritas*, conveys a truth, and if in his cups a man reveal a brutal nature, that nature was there before the liquor brought it out, and we must find the cause of it farther back. That cause is nothing else than "man's inhumanity to man," the predatory disposition to injure and kill, the determination to crowd the weaker to the wall, which it has been the mission of civilization to soften, and which it may eradicate. When, therefore, in their desire for liberty, men fall victims to destructive habits, we must be careful to place the burden of blame where it belongs. If we do this, we shall very often find that the immorality lies not so much with the weaker who is crushed as with the stronger who flings him to the ground. The brutality with which advantage is taken of the weaker and the blame of his failures thrown upon him, is appalling. Personal indulgence is only the solace for defeat, the sole relief from a pitiless fate. And in case of crime, the determining causes are too little considered. It will usually be found that there is some wrong at the back of the evil deed, which someone in

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particular, or society in general, has committed against the criminal, and which it is the business of society to consider. Though punishment be inflicted upon the prisoner at the bar, it is our business to understand and, if possible, to prevent, those wrongs inflicted by prosperity and power upon poverty and weakness which drive men to desperation and breed crimes, and even revolutions.

Yet impartial observation of the facts will, I am persuaded, show that personal morals are everywhere improving under conditions of greater freedom. In the matter of drunkenness there is a very marked gain in America, even in spite of strong prohibitionist movements and their temporary successes; for such movements must be regarded as practically increasing the evils they assume to combat. Prohibition, however, is now generally acknowledged to be a failure. It must be so, like every attempted regulation of personal habits by law, because it is resented as an infringement upon liberty.

Sexual morality generally has been enforced rather by ecclesiastical than by secular authority. In militant nations, irregularity has always been winked at among soldiers and sometimes openly encouraged. It will be remembered that when the Duke of Alva, in his holy war, led his army of ten thousand men across the Alps into the Netherlands, he took with him two thousand women, regularly assigned to his different divisions. The corruption of courts at various times and places need only be alluded to. The polygamies of kings are notorious. The condition of affairs among ecclesiastics, in monasteries and nunneries, is also a matter of history. Taking all these facts into consideration, he who claims that, as the world becomes more emancipated from authority, sexual vice increases, would seem almost wilfully blind. Great cities always exhibit a considerable amount of this sort of immorality and always have exhibited it. But in the smaller places, in the country generally, the sentiment concerning those subjects is such that unreasonable intolerance is more to be feared than too great laxity. I am inclined to think that the larger freedom allowed to women in the United States, their mingling with men in all sorts of occupations, has tended to impair, and often to abolish, that reticence and modesty which many consider so great a charm in woman. But with this go an increased self-reliance and self-knowledge, which prevent deceit and betrayal and impress very strongly the necessity of prudence.

If, therefore, we study profoundly the source and meaning of the moral law, if we look at the facts which the history of mankind

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presents to us, we shall be forced to the conclusion, not only that morality has improved under freedom from the restraints of authority, but that without such freedom nothing worthy of the name of morality is possible. Nevertheless, so far as the American nation is concerned, if, as Professor Bryce says, "we may look forward to the future, not indeed without anxiety, when we mark the clouds that hang on the horizon, yet with a hope that is stronger than anxiety"; still we ought ever to keep before us the grounds of our fear, with the view of applying what remedies we can; erecting beacon-lights even if we cannot steer the ship.

The philosophy of social life teaches us, as we have seen, that the perfection of individual liberty can be attained only through the limitations of social liberty which recognize the organic unity of society. The same philosophy declares that social liberty cannot be secured save through equality of rights. But it is also true that equality of rights can be maintained only through equality of power. Hence, in our industrial state, freedom and morality also must be preserved, if at all, through an equalization of industrial and social conditions. This view I have elsewhere elaborated.[1] It is also the leading thought of a work which ought to be read as an antidote to, or at least a corrective of, Mr. Pearson's "National Life and Character." This work is "Civilization and Progress," by John Beattie Crozier. The author maintains, in a powerful argument, that a rise in men's ideals is made possible only by successive equalizations of their material and social conditions. He shows how, after the old feudal concentration of authority and power was broken down, a new tendency arose to an industrial concentration, no less pernicious, which must also, and which will, be destroyed by equalizing material conditions, and thus will prepare a way for a better and higher social *régime* than history has yet recorded. The concentration of wealth, which is another form of power, must be dissipated. The conditions of men as to property, social and industrial power, must be equalized; their comparative equality in these respects must be established, as equality before the law was secured. The tyranny of the sword has been abolished; so must be the despotism of plutocracy. In other words, liberty must be real and not nominal, practical and not theoretical. Until then, we have no perfect social freedom and no complete morality.

A further cause of discouragement must be noted. In our insist-

[1] "Social Progress," Longmans, Green & Co., 1890.

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ence upon rights we are losing the sense of duty. People do not consider what they owe to be a matter of their own concern, but rather the business of their creditors. This habit of mind is destructive of moral character. Its prevalence is the greatest evil in the American democracy to-day. To correct it and to restore the ideals and imperatives of duty is the most important problem before us. President Seelye, of Amherst College, in an article entitled, "Dynamite as a Factor of Civilization," alludes to a self-regulating principle, which, however, he confounds with the mandates of institutional power—

> "That principle of authority in every soul, which is, says Richard Hooker, 'laid up in the bosom of God'; which commands, says Cicero, 'what ought to be done'; which declares, says Demosthenes, 'what is just and honorable'; and whose utterances, says Sophocles, 'are not of to-day, nor of yesterday, and no man can tell when they came,' is able to secure the supremacy it claims."

True: but the principle of authority is one of a self-regulated, autonomic character, and never was and never will be effective when imposed from without, under any constraint. External pressure may have a temporary value, but must humanity be esteemed to be hopelessly bad save when held under tutelage? The most of us will prefer to believe that the cure for the evils of liberty is more liberty. So far as we are able to see from the lessons of history, there is no other remedy. Vinet declares—

> "It is the glory of the gospels, not that they furnish to us a new morality, but that they give us a power to practise the old."

This power is certainly needed; but whether the gospels give it or not is a question. They certainly do not furnish it universally, perhaps because their exponents insist on turning their spirit of freedom into the submission of devotees to ecclesiasticism. But, if the power be there, let someone, who does not think of himself more highly than he ought to think, reveal it unto our rational intelligence. If it is not there, let us seek it somewhere else. It is surely to be found; for it is indicated to us in those ideals which, beyond the struggles and exigencies of the present, are ever bringing into our souls the presence of the immortal and eternal, wherein are order and peace.

DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON.

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DIRECTIONS AND VOLUME OF OUR LITERARY ACTIVITIES.

WHILE in no age of American literature has there been so much writing and publishing as at the present time, there is to be observed a strong drift toward new methods of reaching the public mind. A few years ago, periodicals devoted mainly to literature were few, authors relied almost wholly upon the book-publishing market for their wares, and the modern "literary syndicate" was unknown. The recent increase of periodicals devoted wholly or mainly to literature has been phenomenal. In 1883 there were published in the United States 428 reviews, magazines, and other periodicals of this class; in 1893 there are no less than 1051. Still greater has been the increase of periodicals devoted to science, invention, transportation, and the technical arts, this class numbering 146 ten years ago, while now there are 611 covering the same field, or new fields under those general heads. Of law periodicals the growth has been from 43 in 1883 to 60 in 1893. Medical and hygienic science exhibit an increase from 121 to 201 in the last decade. There have been many new periodicals started to meet the wants of special workers, as, for example, authors, actors, typewriters, stenographers, engineers, electricians, telegraphers, photographers, jewellers, lumbermen, iron-workers, cabinet-makers, and even bicyclists, all of whom have their special journals. So wide and copious has become the information diffused by periodicals, that it is held by many that books on the related subjects have chances of far less sales than formerly.

The salient fact that the periodical press absorbs year by year more of the talent which might otherwise be expended upon literature of more permanent form is abundantly obvious. This tendency has both its good and its evil results. On the one hand, the best writing-ability is often drawn out by magazines and journals, which are keen competitors for attractive matter and for known reputations, and sometimes they secure both in combination. On the other hand, it is a notable fact that writers capable of excellent work often do great injustice to their reputations by producing too hastily

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articles written to order, instead of the well-considered and ripe fruits of their literary skill. Whether the brief article answering the limits of a magazine or a review is apt to be more or less superficial than a book treating the same topic, is a question admitting of differing views. If the writer is capable of skilful condensation without loss of grace of composition or graphic power, then the article, measured by its influence upon the public mind, must be preferred to the more diffuse treatise of the book. It has the immense advantage of demanding far less of the reader's time; and, whenever its conclusions are stated in a masterly way, its impression should be quite as lasting as that of any book treating a similar theme. Such is doubtless the effect of the abler articles written for periodicals, which are more condensed, and full of matter in speedily available form, than the average book of the period. In this sense it is a misuse of terms to call the review article ephemeral, or to treat the periodicals containing them as perishable literary commodities, which served their turn with the month or year that produced them. On the contrary, the experience of librarians shows that the most sought-for and most useful contributions to the elucidation of any subject are frequently found, not in the books written upon it, but in the files of current periodicals, or in those of former years. It is especially to be noted that the book may frequently lose its adaptation and its usefulness by lapse of time, the progress of events, and the onward march of science, while the article is apt to reflect the latest light which can help to illustrate the subject.

While, therefore, there is always a liability of finding many crude and sketchy contributions in the literature of the periodical press, its conductors are ever on the alert to reduce to a minimum the weak or unworthy offerings, and to secure a maximum of articles embodying mature thought and fit expression. The pronounced tendency toward short methods in every channel of human activity is reflected in the constantly multiplying series of periodical publications.

The publishing activities of the times are taking on a certain co-operative element which was not formerly known. The "literary syndicate" has been developed by degrees into one of the most far-reaching agencies for popular entertainment. The taste for short stories, in place of the ancient three-volume novel, has been cultivated even in conservative England, and has become so widespread in the United States that very few periodicals which deal in fiction at all are without their stories begun and finished in a single issue.

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The talent required to produce a fascinating and successful fiction in this narrow compass is a peculiar one, and while there are numerous failures there are also a surprising number of successes. Well-written descriptive articles, too, are in demand, and special cravings for personal gossip and lively sketches of notable living characters are manifest. That perennial interest which mankind and womankind evince in every individual whose name, for whatever reason, has become familiar, supplies a basis for an inexhaustible series of light paragraphic articles. Another fruitful field for the "syndicate" composition is brief essays upon any topics of the times, the fashions, notable events or new inventions, public charities, education, governmental doings, current political movements, etc. These appear, almost simultaneously, in many different periodicals scattered throughout the country, under the copyright *imprimatur*, which warns off all journals from republishing which have not subscribed to the special "syndicate" engaging them. Thus each periodical secures, at extremely moderate rates, contributions which are frequently written by the most noted and popular living writers, who, in their turn, are much better remunerated for their work than they would be for the same amount of writing if published in book-form. Whether this now popular method of attaining a wide and remunerative circulation for their productions will prove permanent, is less certain than that many authors now find it the surest road to a profitable employment of their pens. That it rarely serves to introduce unknown writers of talent to the reading world, may be laid to the account of the eagerness of the "syndicates" to secure names that enjoy notoriety.

In the field of book literature there appears a marked tendency toward the reproduction of standard authors, and this may be hailed as a wholesome symptom both of the public taste and of the judgment of publishers which caters to it. In general terms it may be said that this is an age of compilation rather than of creation. The multitude of single volumes and of libraries containing selections from the great masters of prose and verse is literally without end. No great original works in the field of imaginative literature have recently appeared. It is gratifying to find, amid the great and hitherto unexampled fertility of production in the publishing world, that books which may properly be termed classics are still demanded and are still read. The day is far distant when such poets as Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare, such historians as Gibbon, Hume, Macaulay, Prescott, and Parkman, and such novelists as Sir Walter Scott,

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Balzac, Thackeray, and Hawthorne, will cease to be read. The constant consumption by the reading world of new editions of standard authors in ever more attractive styles of printing, binding, and illustration, is proof of the ultimate soundness of the public taste. Our leading publishers of the conservative class are continually bringing out, and working over in different styles of manufacture, the works of their best writers, thus tending both to create and to supply that demand for the choicest literature which all should delight in fostering. Publishers who neglect this permanent mine of profit, and are continually on the alert for the newest books, often find such enterprises more productive of experience than of pecuniary profit. The publisher who is ever eager for "a great hit" commonly makes many costly mistakes, and reaches his aim but seldom, if ever.

Of the publications of any period, how many ever arrive at the honor of republication? How many are found worthy of a reprint by the generation immediately succeeding? And will any one learned in the history of literature tell us how many, out of all the candidates for immortality, ever reach it by the suffrage of succeeding centuries calling for new editions? Is it not the fate of at least ninety-nine in a hundred writers to find a place among the myriads of forgotten volumes that slumber upon the shelves of the great libraries of the world? It is the melancholy fate of most writers to survive their own literary reputation. Not the least among the evils of that eagerness to be seen in print which afflicts so many writers is the utter unconsciousness of its subjects as to the worthless and ephemeral character of their productions. A moderate acquaintance with the literature of the past might spare these unsophisticated authorlings the trouble of putting pen to paper. Works that stand the test of criticism and secure the verdict of the ages are not made in a day.

Some of the more prolific fields of publishing activity within the year 1893 may be briefly noted.

The World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago has already been fruitful in publications diffusing the graphic knowledge of the vast exhibition of taste and industry of all nations brought together in 1893. *Éditions de luxe* illustrating all departments of industry and art are issued in surprising numbers, by Eastern as well as by Western publishers, and will be widely circulated through subscription agents as well as through the ordinary channels of the book-trade. Many of these are costly and beautiful works of art, which will possess more than a passing interest.

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The great prominence recently given to financial questions has naturally led to a large activity in the publication of monographs upon banks, silver, paper currency, standards of value, tariff, taxation, and all the subsidiary questions of economics involving the vital issues which have distracted Congress and almost convulsed the nation. What is called "the campaign of education" has been carried on with vigor, and both knowledge and misinformation have been scattered abundantly far and wide throughout the country.

The increasing number of publications on local history and genealogy is noteworthy. The tendency to commemorate in permanent records not only the men of the past, but those of to-day, is constantly growing, while books recording the origin, development, and resources of cities, towns, and counties continually add to our historical literature. Many publications in the direction of serious studies offset to a considerable degree the flood of fictitious literature which is always a leading element in the publications of any period. The historical spirit becomes annually more and more widely diffused, and neglected periods of history or events in local annals are written up, increasing the country's store of information by works of permanent value.

While the international copyright system has undoubtedly diminished to a considerable degree the circulation of the works of foreign authors which might otherwise have found a larger and more productive market in America, it must be conceded that many enterprising British publishers have been induced to bring out copyright editions of their authors in the United States, and that this tendency is on the increase. A noticeable feature of the workings of the international copyright is an increased activity in the translation into English of works in the French, German, Italian, Russian, and Scandinavian languages. There is much fresh and original production in those countries, and their authors are gradually coming to make arrangements with publishers (now that protection gives them an interest in foreign markets) to have their works reproduced in English, and circulated both in Great Britain and America. This widening of the area of copyright is the result of international arrangements brought about by the law of 1891. Another effect, in part, of the new law is found in the diminution and almost entire cessation of the abundance of cheaply published trash in the guise of fiction which formerly flooded the country.

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The literary activity of the times, as measured by the entries for copyright at Washington, would appear to be on the increase, since the publications registered for 1893 exceeded by some 3,000 those for the corresponding period of 1892. The number of publications of all kinds entered in 1892 was 54,735, while the aggregate of copyrights in 1882 (ten years previous) was only 22,918. But this standard of comparison would be largely misleading if it were not mentioned that the heavy share of increase in copyright publications covers musical compositions and works of graphic art, as well as books, periodicals, etc. The weekly catalogue that is printed of books and other publications received at the Office of the Librarian of Congress covers necessarily only the briefest title-entry of each, with the names of the author and proprietor, thus furnishing by no means a full bibliographical description of the publications. The reason for this brevity is that these lists must be issued immediately upon receipt of the publications, in order to serve as an aid to customs officers in intercepting the importation of pirated editions. A moderate number of these catalogues are also subscribed for to supply early information of the appearance of new publications, periodicals, books, musical compositions, etc.

It may perhaps be regarded as some indication of the value of property in printed matter that there is an ever-increasing number of periodicals which protect the contents of their issues by copyright entry. This extends not only to most magazines and reviews, but to multitudes of weekly periodicals as well as to several daily newspapers.

The cases in which authors lose their rights to their productions, and perhaps the profit thereon, by publication in periodicals without the protection of copyright, have been very numerous. Thus, the early productions of Mark Twain, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and many others have been reprinted in book form without their consent, depriving the writers not only of pecuniary reward, but of the sometimes more important right of revision which equitably belongs to the author only.

It may not have occurred to many writers otherwise well-informed, that anything printed in a periodical not protected by copyright entry becomes thereby public property. And, if we may judge from the large number of imperfect or informal announcements of copyright that get printed, in cases where copyright protection has been supposed to exist, there is a very general ignorance as to what is neces-

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sary to such protection. To print the word "Copyright" in or upon any publication is not a valid announcement that such publication is exclusive property. The law explicitly requires that the name of the person claiming ownership, and the year of entering the claim, shall be printed,—thus: "*Copyright*, 1893, *by John Smith*"; otherwise no suit for recovery of damages can be maintained in an action for infringement.

Many copyright lectures and condensed outlines of scientific study appear from the press, usually in a more private or restricted method of publication than the mass of literature which gets advertised. These helps to education serve a most useful purpose, and the cultivation of every field in science and literature is helped forward by those who contribute them to the information of their audiences. Lectures publicly delivered, which may be and often are valuable property to their authors, are frequently appropriated by the newspapers, either in full or approximately full reports.

The question, How many books have ever been printed? has frequently attracted the curious in literary statistics. The following estimate of the number existing in all languages in 1822 is given in Peignot's "Manuel de Bibliophile," vol. I (Paris, 1823).

Number of works issued from the invention of printing, (about 1450) to 1536	42,000
Number printed in the second century from the invention of printing, 1536–1636	575,000
Number printed in the third century from the invention of printing, 1636–1736	1,225,000
Number printed in the fourth century from the invention of printing, 1736–1822	1,839,960
Total	3,681,960

The figures for the first century were obtained by diligent computation from Maittaire, Panzer, and other catalogues of early printed books, and publications of the fifteenth century. Passing, then, to the last century, and availing himself of all the literary and bibliographical journals, catalogues of booksellers and of libraries, etc., he arrives at the figures quoted, viz.: 1,839,960. Using these two results as a basis for computing the two intermediate centuries, of which no closer estimate could be made, from defect of data, the compiler calculates the product of each quarter century in progressive ratio, and obtains the above result. Then, estimating each work at an average of three volumes, the total amount of printed literature up to 1822 is about

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eleven millions of volumes, remaining to occupy our leisure hours, in all the public and private libraries of the world. This calculation makes no account of duplicates, dealing only with the multitude of different works which have come from the press in the four centuries since the art of printing was invented. Nor does it embrace manuscripts, of which so many thousands exist in libraries unpublished, and likely ever to remain so.

These statistics, like so many other manipulations of figures which "cannot lie," may be set down as more curious than valuable. Peignot, himself a learned critic and bibliographer, who simply records the figures without indorsing them, considers the estimate exaggerated, the facts vague, and their verification impossible. One unknown quantity in the problem is the great number of books that have perished utterly, from the ceaseless ravages of fire, mice, mould, and other destroyers. Still, when we consider some of the striking examples of literary fecundity, the figures do not seem too startling. The Germans already reckon up more than five thousand distinct works relating to Goethe alone, who died within sixty years. Peignot declares that more than eighty thousand separate works on the history of France had appeared up to his day. How many legions of volumes does the reader imagine will yet appear on the subject of our Civil War?

AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD.

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BRITISH INVESTORS AND AMERICAN CURRENCY LEGISLATION.

RECENT legislation in the United States has had so vital a bearing upon British interests at home, in India, in America, and in the far East, that it has been followed with keen interest even by men who do not in ordinary circumstances pay much attention to controversies on the currency or to theories of finance. The decline in the value of silver has been so great, and has so profoundly affected British commerce and British investments abroad, that, theory or no theory, monometallist as well as bimetallist has been compelled to regard the silver question seriously, and to pay close attention to all matters affecting it. Theorists have found immense interest in the fact that the Indian Government has been forced into experimental legislation with a view to giving a fictitious international value to the rupee at the very time when the United States has been compelled to admit that it is beyond even its power to maintain the price of silver bullion at an abnormal level. Men whose pecuniary interests have been and are directly or indirectly affected by the development of events in America have not troubled themselves about theory, but have been awaiting anxiously the repeal of the silver-purchase law and the disclosure of the policy that is to take its place. They regarded the dilatory action of the Senate with impatient astonishment bordering on indignation; for, though Englishmen are accustomed to obstruction in the House of Commons, the House of Lords, whatever its other faults, never wastes time in the discharge of its legislative functions; and the spectacle of an upper house consuming months of precious time while the whole trade and industry of the country was paralyzed by the delay was a revelation of a defect in the American legislative system, the existence of which had not been previously realized.

However disappointing and irritating the procedure of the Senate may have been, it cannot be said to have ever produced in England any serious doubt as to the ultimate result. From the day when the policy of repeal was formally enunciated, to the end of the struggle, there was a strong conviction that the controversy could have only

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one result. Possibly this feeling was not so much due to faith in the firmness of the President and in the wisdom of the legislature, as to the all-pervading belief that there was no other way out of the financial *impasse* than by the door of repeal, and that perforce it must be taken. Throughout the whole financial and commercial world there was only one opinion as to the disastrous results that must ensue if the compulsory purchase of silver was insisted upon. That opinion, expressed in its most extreme form, was that it would lead to national bankruptcy, and no one for a moment believed that the United States, however reluctant prejudicially to affect the silver States by legislation, would fall into the folly of the other alternative. And, as the belief that persistence in the compulsory monthly purchase of silver would lead to financial, commercial, and industrial disaster was universal, so the conviction that the repeal of the purchase clauses would be the first step toward a more healthy system of finance was also universal. The immediate effect of repeal upon prices of United States securities held in England was a decline in value, but this, to those who are familiar with the causes of such movements, was only confirmatory of the fact that confidence was previously felt in the ultimate issue. The success of the President's policy had been so confidently anticipated that speculators had bought American securities to the utmost extent that their capital and credit would permit, and were holding on to their bargains in expectation of reaping enhanced profits when the repeal became an actual fact. There was then a scramble to secure profits, and the rush to sell brought about the fall in prices that accompanied the surrender of the Senate.

Speculators are keen to perceive in advance what will help to raise or depress prices, and the fact that, as soon as the silver-purchase repeal bill was carried, they hastened to sell, indicated to a nicety the general opinion in England as to the effect upon trade and finance of the abandonment of the monthly purchases of silver by the Government. If there had been any anticipation that the change of policy would in the near future produce a marked improvement in the financial and industrial situation, there would have been no scramble to sell: there would rather have been a disposition to wait, in the hope of securing larger profits. But there was no such expectation. The belief was that the full benefit of repeal had been already discounted; that, though repeal was inevitable, it was only one step toward the creation of a really sound position; and that, until it is seen by what action it is to be followed, the whole situation in the United States

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must remain one of disquieting and prejudicial uncertainty. But speculative opinion is often merely superficial and evanescent. It may set strongly in one direction to-day, and some chance incident or rumor may start it off with equal velocity in a directly opposite direction to-morrow. To ascertain the real, abiding, reasoned opinion of men of experience in England on the situation and outlook in America, it is necessary to look below the changing surface of speculation.

The best-formed judgment on the economic position of the United States is the result of long observation and experience, and is but little affected by isolated passing incidents. Having regard to this important and indisputable fact, it must be eminently gratifying to public opinion in America to know that the Englishmen who have most personal knowledge of the United States, whose interests are most closely connected with American prosperity, and who for years have most carefully watched the course of events, hold in its strongest form the conviction that there is nothing in the situation to cause alarm if only a wise financial policy be pursued; and that there is a sure prospect of prosperity, not only such as America has not hitherto enjoyed, but on a scale that will react on the rest of the world and particularly upon the industrial situation in Great Britain. This, however, is a strictly prospective view, formed, it is true, by men of knowledge and experience on what they believe to be fair inferences from what has happened in the past, but not accepted, even by themselves, as a safe guide to immediate action. If the Sherman Act had been left untouched, these men would have entertained the same opinion of the possibilities that lie before the American people, but would have despaired of their ever being realized. With the repeal of the purchase clauses they see the possibilities brought nearer, but the way still obstructed and a party determined at all risks to maintain the obstructions if it can.

The best-informed men and the speculators are thus in line. Both recognize that a beginning has been made in reform, but that it is a beginning and nothing more. Between these two classes there is a very numerous body of investors whose attitude toward American securities is not less clearly defined. There is the ill-informed and more or less haphazard investor who forms his opinion largely upon current stock-exchange gossip and on statements of financial newspapers. He has had his confidence in all things American periodically shocked and almost utterly destroyed. He does not profess to understand high finance, but realizes that in some mysterious way

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silver legislation and the McKinley tariff have been hostile to his interests and have produced financial convulsions that have brought widespread ruin in which he has been overwhelmed. Investors of this class have from time to time sustained such heavy losses through the unexpected application of current railroad profits to betterments, or the sudden disclosure of excessive floating debt, or the development of some policy that leads to rate-cutting, or the capture of railroad stock by men who manipulate the market for their own profit or aggrandizement, that their confidence in American railroad shares has been completely undermined. The collapse in values this past year, consequent on the silver crisis, has completed their demoralization; and, when their capital has not altogether disappeared, they are in no mood to risk investments in American securities of any kind. As, however, one race of this class disappears, another begins to take its place, and the rapidity with which the ranks are reinforced depends chiefly upon the surplus capital that is available for investment and the development of a new period of prosperity in the States. In looking back upon the recent crisis, and estimating the present prospect of improvement now that compulsory purchase of silver has ceased, the circumstances do not appear to these people to be either worse or better than have prevailed in preceding crises. The main difference is that the collapse in America has followed immediately upon the realization of heavy losses by British investors in South America and Australia, and synchronously with severe depression in trade and agriculture in England, so that the advent of a new race of inexperienced investors in American securities is likely to be delayed.

There is a large class of very solid British investors who do not occupy this uninstructed and unintelligent position. These are thoroughly distrustful of ordinary American securities, and the agitation and conflicting legislation respecting silver have made them more so; but they recognize that there are sound American investments that yield a higher return than can be obtained upon corresponding securities in England. They therefore eschew all speculative and non-dividend-paying stocks, and give a wide berth to all undertakings whose shares are manipulated by great operators in Wall Street, but have no hesitation in buying and holding for long periods first-class mortgage bonds of well-conducted railroads and other admittedly sound securities. The silver crisis undoubtedly disquieted this class of investors, but not to an extent that could cause them to sacrifice their property. They had sufficient confi-

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dence in the firmness of the President, the good sense of the people, and the irresistible character of the evidence in favor of the abolition of compulsory silver purchase, to feel that the minority of the Senate must be overcome. Needless to say, if their hopes had been falsified, English confidence in American securities and in the wisdom and good faith of the American legislature would have received a blow that would have shattered American credit in England for an indefinite period, even where the best securities were concerned.

The small ill-informed investors and the believers in sound dividend-paying securities fill up the gap between the mere speculators and the high-class investors, whose position has next to be considered, and whose attitude is perhaps more instructive and suggestive than that of any other. These are men or corporations who as a rule have some business connection with the States, or men who, having retired from active business-life, keep a substantial balance at their banker's ready for promising opportunities of investment, or who at all events can at any time obtain accommodation on favorable terms. Many of these wealthy and well-informed people have in previous years been in touch with American markets, and are well aware of the danger as well as of the opportunities that investments in American securities present. The certainty that the Sherman Act would bring to the Government financial trouble sufficed to cause them to get clear of their investments in America before the crash came. When it did come, their knowledge of the resources of the United States, and their confidence that the silver party would be defeated, gave them courage to buy largely when prices were at their lowest. These investors take a wider range than those who restrict their purchase to first-class bonds and other unimpeachable investments. They have in many cases means of procuring very accurate information, frequently from correspondents or business connections in America, and consequently proceed with enlightenment and confidence. To what extent these investors have recently bought American securities it is impossible to say, but the aggregate is known to be very large. It is the investments or the sales of this class, in fact, that chiefly affect the international financial situation and the balance of indebtedness as between America and Europe. They do not, like the buyers of first-class bonds and securities of that kind, purchase for permanent investment. Their object is to take advantage of abnormally low prices to secure profits on the rebound, but they are under no obligation to sell at any given date and can hold their securities for long or

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for short periods as may seem desirable. Let there be any reason to anticipate the triumph of a policy that in their opinion would be retrograde and dangerous, and they would speedily terminate their risk. In that case the securities recently purchased would in all probability find their way back again to New York, and a large balance representing recent low values, plus whatever increment of value had taken place up to the time of sale, would have to be transmitted from the States to England, either in the form of gold or produce. Let there, on the other hand, be a well-assured prospect of further progress toward a sound financial and economic situation that would lead to an increase of trade and a development of national resources, and they would be inclined to await the progress of events. Bullion movements between America and England would in that case remain practically free from the extraneous influence of international transactions in securities, and the excess of exports over imports would naturally lead to an inward flow of gold from Europe, reduced only by the periodical transmission to Europe of increased dividend payments on the increased investments.

It will be seen that the speculator, for the time being, is inclined to await events; that the ill-informed operator is demoralized and impoverished; that investors in first-mortgages and other high-class securities have practically held on to their scrip all through the crisis; that the well-informed moneyed classes have been large buyers of selected securities at low values; but that all classes are convinced that the repeal of the purchase clauses of the Sherman Act alone is only a first step, are keenly appraising the significance of every expression of public opinion in America that bears directly or indirectly upon currency or commerce, and are waiting to see whether, in the struggle that lies before him, the President will be strong enough to carry to a successful issue the policy to which he has put his hand.

What, then, does informed British opinion expect of President Cleveland and Congress? What action on their part will strengthen and what will weaken British confidence in American good faith, financial capacity, and economic wisdom? In endeavoring in some degree to answer these questions, I have no intention of discussing currency or fiscal theories. Practical Englishmen pay little attention to mere theory. The Bland Act and the Sherman Act did not greatly differ in theory; but the Bland Act produced little prejudicial effect, and the Sherman Act was ruinous. There was a severe financial crisis under the Bland Act in 1884–85, but the country was

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not denuded of gold. In the crisis this past year the stock of gold shrank to an unprecedented degree, credit utterly collapsed, American securities were thrown upon the world at ruinously depreciated values, and American produce passed into the hands of foreigners at an enormous sacrifice. The loss to the United States by the forced sale of its produce at low prices has been enormous, and has reacted upon the industrial situation in the States and upon the agricultural situation in England. The loss by the sacrifice of securities cannot be estimated; it has yet to accrue. Both these phenomena affect the currency. The shrinkage in the value of exports means diminished purchasing power abroad, or, if the importation of foreign produce be maintained, the shipment of gold in payment for the receipt of less gold from abroad. The sale of securities at low values means a present receipt of gold, but an ultimate large shipment when the securities are returned. These are movements that would occur under the Bland Act, the Sherman Act, or under any financial system in time of abnormal depression, but they have been experienced in a more acute form under the Sherman than under the Bland Act,—not so much, in English opinion, because of any difference in principle between the two acts, as because of the different methods in which the acts have been carried into effect and the different circumstances of the times. Under the Bland Act bankers did not permit the paper issued by the Treasury to displace gold; under the Sherman Act they did. When the crisis came in 1884–85, the public revenue far exceeded the expenditure, and the Treasury was in a position to meet the strain put upon its resources. When this last crisis came, expenditure was in excess of receipts, and the Treasury was not in a position to meet the strong demand that set in for gold. Hence the severity of the crisis.

In such circumstances Englishmen do not attribute the whole evil to the Sherman Act. Any system, no matter on what theory it may be founded, that would substitute a paper currency for gold without an adequate reserve of gold at the back of it, would produce in a more or less aggravated form the same evils as the Sherman Act; and any fiscal system that weakens the position of the Treasury by causing expenditure to exceed income must, under the currency and banking methods of the United States, have a prejudicial effect upon the whole commercial and industrial life of the country. If, therefore, the United States be determined to maintain gold in its position of supremacy, no currency issued against silver and practically

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payable in gold, without provision being made for the maintenance of an adequate gold reserve, will command the confidence of Englishmen. Still less would they be satisfied with a fiscal system that restricts trade and squanders the national income with a prodigality that causes a deficit where there should be a surplus.

With remarkable unanimity all classes of Englishmen are asking what is to be the next step in currency legislation in the United States, and are confessing that they do not know. They recognize that some means must be found by which the currency requirements of ever-increasing population and ever-expanding trade must be met, and they look to President Cleveland and the party now in power to find an acceptable solution. But first indications of a positive policy, as opposed to the negative policy of repeal, are very disappointing. Seigniorage on the coinage of silver bullion supplies no doubt a legitimate source of national income; but, when the bullion is already worth less than the paper issued against it, the issue of more currency against the same silver on the strength of mere coinage is too much like an attempt to create something out of nothing to carry public confidence with it. At best it is only a temporary and petty expedient, and it puts in circulation an increased amount of paper, payment of which can be practically demanded in gold, without doing anything to increase the gold reserve either of the Treasury or of the country. The only real security, in fact, behind such paper, is the credit of the United States, the value of which is not disputed; but if this be so it too closely resembles a return to paper currency to meet with approval. Some very different method must be adopted if British faith in the President's currency policy, strongly stimulated as it has been by his firmness on repeal, is not to receive a rude and damaging shock.

If there is doubt in England as to the actual currency legislation that may be expected, there is no such dubiety in regard to legislation in restraint of trade and the equalization of national income and expenditure. Business men,—bankers, stockbrokers, shipowners, and the commercial classes generally,—in whatever other matters they hold diverse views, fix upon two reforms as essential to the full development of the material wealth of the United States and the realization of financial equilibrium and prosperity. These reforms are the utmost possible modification of the McKinley Act and a drastic revision of pensions. I am bound to say that expectation of a revision of the pension list is much less widely entertained than is the hope of tariff reform; but, on the other hand, probably no possible

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action on the part of the United States Government would have a more wholesome and reassuring effect upon British faith in American political courage and probity than would a searching revision of pensions granted within the last few years. In the opinion of many thoughtful people, the inflation of the pension list has had as direct an influence in aggravating the recent crisis as the Sherman Act itself; and those who are best informed in American affairs are most vehement in their denunciation of the corrupt bestowal of pensions as a scandal and a reproach. The fact that the pensions that have caused the inflation were not granted out of gratitude for services rendered, but for mean party purposes and to get rid of surplus revenue that would otherwise have rendered a reduction of customs dues imperative, has weakened British faith in the independence of the American legislature, and encouraged the belief that designing politicians and capitalists can and do prostitute the power of the legislature for their own sordid gain. Such procedure has a more permanently prejudicial effect upon the British mind than months of Senatorial resistance to the repeal of the silver-purchase law. But for the pension list, revenue would have exceeded expenditure, the Treasury would have had ample means with which to meet the crisis, the gold reserve would have been adequate, the panic and fall in prices would either not have occurred or would have been minimized, and the national loss by the sacrifice of securities and produce at ruinously low values would have been vastly less than it has been.

If people speak less strongly about the McKinley tariff it is not because belief in the necessity for its modification is less widely held. English opinion in this matter may, however, be regarded in America as somewhat prejudiced. The act was intended to shut English manufacturers out of America, and it is only natural to suppose that Englishmen should have no good feeling toward it. United States statistics show to what extent it has succeeded or failed, and I have no intention of dwelling upon that side of the question. But the act undoubtedly has a direct effect upon the currency, inasmuch as heavy customs duties involve the employment, in the businesses affected, of more capital, which in turn increases the demands upon bankers for loans and tends to produce stringency in the money market. The important matter, however, is that President Cleveland and his supporters are pledged to tariff reform, and that this is one of the questions to be dealt with in the near future. The anticipation of change is prejudicial to trade. It is anticipated, for example, that reform

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will be in the direction of admitting raw material duty-free, and at present there is a tax on imported wool. One result of this is that wool which has been sent from Europe to the United States, and has been lying there in bond, has recently been re-shipped to Liverpool and is there now awaiting the day when it may be once again shipped to the States and admitted duty-free. Simultaneously with this extraordinary movement, American manufacturers are trying to sell carpets in England. There is some controversy as to whether the carpets offered are merely a chance surplus stock, or whether the incident marks the beginning of real American competition in England with home makers. Some good authorities hold the latter opinion. But what must be evident to the merest tyro is that, if wool were admitted free into the United States, American carpet-makers would to that extent be helped in their competition in the English market, without in any way interfering with the wages of their workpeople. Englishmen extend this argument from the wool and carpet trades to tin-plate and other industries, and from the English home market to markets abroad in which England has now almost a monopoly; and they perceive that, as soon as the United States admits all raw material duty-free, and imposes taxes for revenue purposes only, England will have to fight for her industrial supremacy in the markets of the world as she has never had to fight before.

Holding these opinions, enlightened Englishmen do not look lightheartedly upon the steady—but, as they think, inevitable and irresistible—progress of the United States toward fiscal freedom; for while they anticipate that, in the early stages of the new order of things, British trade would probably receive an immense impetus, they recognize that America would immediately benefit also and would eventually become England's most formidable competitor.

English anticipation of financial stability and commercial and industrial prosperity in America rests, therefore, on the belief that the abolition of the compulsory purchase of silver will be followed by the adoption of a better and sounder method of providing for the necessary expansion of the currency; upon a hope that there will be such a revision of pensions as will remove all cause of reproach, and not only establish financial equilibrium but provide a surplus; and upon the conviction that there will be a reform of the tariff that will liberate trade and commerce from injurious and needless burdens, and leave the United States free to multiply and extend her industries, and to compete for supremacy in the markets of the world. W. WETHERELL.

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RESULTS OF THE COPYRIGHT LAW.

THE Copyright Act which became law March 4, 1891, and the provisions of which went into effect July 1 of the same year, did not constitute a new statute, but comprised simply amendments to certain sections of the statute relating to copyright, which had been in force since July, 1870.[1]

It is not practicable to state with precision what the effects of the law have been during the two years of its operation, as there is a lack of trustworthy statistics concerning literary or publishing conditions either for the period prior to the act or for the present time. In arriving at any approximate estimate of these effects, it is in order, I judge, to consider: first, the results secured by authors, American or foreign; second, the results for American readers; and, third, the effect on American publishing conditions.

The most important results of the new copyright policy are naturally to be looked for in the literary relations between the United

[1] The most important changes in the law (omitting from present consideration a few matters of technical detail) were as follows: First: Its provisions, previously limited to the works of authors (under which term I include for convenience artists and composers) who were "residents of the United States," were extended to cover the productions of non-residents on condition that such non-resident author was a resident of a country which should concede to American authors similar privileges. Second: All editions of the works copyrighted must be entirely manufactured in the United States. This provision imposed a new restriction upon American authors, who had previously been at liberty to have their books manufactured on either side of the Atlantic. Third: The book, to secure American copyright, must be published in the United States not later than the date of its publication in any other country. The provisions of the act became operative between the United States and any foreign state only when the President had made announcement, by proclamation, that the necessary conditions of reciprocity had been fulfilled by such State. The proclamation of July 1, 1891, specified that the act was in force with Great Britain, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. Since that date the following countries have been brought within the operations of the act: Germany, in April, 1892; Italy, in October, 1892; Portugal, in July, 1893; and Spain and Denmark subsequently.

By the close of 1892, according to the report of the Librarian of Congress, more than nineteen thousand copyrights had been granted to foreign authors, composers, and designers. The figures for 1893 are not yet available.

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States and Great Britain, relations which the supporters of international copyright naturally had particularly in view.

Before the Copyright Act, the more reputable of the English publishers who were not willing to "appropriate" American books were deterred from arranging for authorized editions by the certainty that, if the books found favor with the English public, "piracy" editions would promptly appear. The appearance of many American titles in the lists of the leading English publishers, and the increased importance of the publishing done by American firms through their branch houses in London, are evidence that satisfactory arrangements with American authors are now being made, and that there must be a substantial increase in the returns from their English editions. It is probable, nevertheless, that these English returns are less considerable than were hoped for. Certain authors who have assumed that the lack of international copyright was the only obstacle that prevented a transatlantic success have learned that there are other difficulties in the way. The English public is conservative. Scholarly readers are not easily convinced of the scholarly trustworthiness or importance of works "from the States," while in light literature, and particularly in fiction, the supply from English pens is more than sufficient to meet the demand. It is further the case that for the last two years, and particularly during the year 1893, there has been a continued depression in the book-trade of Great Britain, and the English booksellers have been less willing and less able to invest in "new and experimental lines of literature," to which class, in their opinion, books by transatlantic writers would necessarily belong. The sales in England of authorized editions of "average" American books have therefore increased less rapidly than was hoped. There has, however, been a steady growth in these sales, and it may be confidently predicted that the near future will witness a more rapid development. The gains, on the other hand, in the case of authors who can command a public, have doubtless been very substantial. American authors whose names have become known in England are beginning also to secure some receipts from Paris, Leipsic, Berlin, and Stuttgart, but for some time to come such Continental receipts can hardly be considerable.

American publishers are now in a position to give to American fiction a larger measure of favorable attention than was possible when such volumes had to compete with English stories that had not been paid for; and the removal of this disturbing factor must have proved

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a definite advantage to American novelists, and especially to the newer writers. This advantage has, however, been lessened or delayed by the fact that during the last year large stocks of "remainders" of the novels issued by the "reprinting" firms that have become bankrupt have been crowded upon the book-stands and offered at nominal prices. The disappointment of English authors with the results of the copyright law has been keener than that of their American brethren, because their expectations were so much larger. During the half-century in which international copyright has been talked about, many statements had been put into print and talked over in English literary circles, setting forth the enormous circulation secured in "the States" for unauthorized editions of English books, and particularly of English fiction; and large estimates were arrived at as to the great fortunes that were being made out of these editions by the piratical publishers. The writers whose names were known on this side of the Atlantic, and who, after arranging for authorized American editions, had received the honor of being pirated, convinced themselves—not unnaturally—that, when this piratical competition was removed, the payments from their authorized publishers could be very greatly increased. The authors who had secured neither the tangible advantage of an authorized edition nor the empty compliment of a piratical one, felt in many cases equally assured that it was only the lack of copyright protection which prevented American publishers from paying large sums for the privilege of introducing their books to the American public. With both groups of authors the phrase "the millions of American readers" was likely to be used. I have myself heard the phrase "the sixty-five millions of American readers." It was inevitable that the results should bring disappointment to such glowing expectations. As Mrs. Todgers plaintively remarked of her trials in keeping a London boarding-house: "A joint won't yield—a whole animal wouldn't yield—the amount of gravy they expect each day at dinner."

There has been, nevertheless, a substantial advance. The authors of the first rank (using the term simply for commercial importance) have certainly very largely increased the receipts from their American sales, while for authors of the second grade there has doubtless also been a satisfactory gain. I think it probable—though on such a point exact statistics are unobtainable—that in one division of literature, that of third-class or lower-grade fiction, there has been a decrease in the supply taken from England for American readers. There

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never had been any natural demand in America for English fiction of this class, and it had been purveyed or "appropriated" chiefly in order to supply material for the weekly issues of the cheap "libraries." The lessening of the supply of this class of literary provender may be classed as one of the direct gains from international copyright.

English authors have to-day the satisfaction that they are able to place their books before their American readers with a correct and complete text. Before the amended Copyright Law, English books had to be reprinted on what might be called a "scramble system." It was often not practicable to give to the printing of the authorized editions sufficient time and supervision to ensure a correct typography, while the unauthorized issues were not infrequently—either through carelessness or for the sake of reducing the amount and the cost of the material—seriously garbled. The transatlantic author, who was then helpless to protect himself, can now, of course, arrange to give at his leisure an "author's reading" to his proofs.

The copyright law has, in my opinion, secured substantial advantages for American book-buyers. In one class of literature only have the prices increased. The cheapest issues of current new fiction sell at forty cents or fifty cents, in place of fifteen cents or twenty-five cents. It is to be borne in mind, however, that these prices do not stand for the same amount or for the same quality of material. The fifteen-cent "quarto" of the "libraries," hastily and often carelessly printed, was an offence to the eye and probably not infrequently an injury to the sight. It was not, in the proper sense of the term, a book, and could not be preserved as one. It was usually bought for railroad reading, notwithstanding the unsuitableness of its typography for such a purpose, and was often thrown away at the end of the journey. The decently printed half-dollar novel of to-day gives much better value for its cost, and may be preserved to be of service to many readers.

It is the case also that the fifteen-cent and twenty-five-cent "libraries" were not crushed out by the copyright law, but for some time before the passage of the law were rapidly coming to an end, as, even with the aid of pirated material, they could not be published at a profit. A large number of new concerns, impressed with the belief that money was to be made in the publishing of pirated fiction, had gone into the "reprint" business shortly before the passage of the Copyright Act. Their cut-throat competition speedily destroyed the very inconsiderable possibility of profit in the business. Books

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available for reprinting became exhausted, so that it became difficult to secure enough material to keep up the weekly issues required to secure periodical postage rates, and, as one result, the stuff used for the weekly issues became more and more "rubbishy." Even before the act, there had been not a few failures among these "reprint" publishers. There have been more important failures since, and the "bargain" departments in the dry-goods shops are still working off the remainders of the bankrupt stock, much of it, like many other "bargains," dear at any price.

Except in this class of cheap fiction, there has been with copyrighted foreign books a steady tendency to lower prices. Before, it was the frequent practice of the publisher of a higher-grade book (knowing that if it secured for itself a preliminary success, he would have to contend later with piratical competition) to secure for his first edition the highest price that the market would bear. In the cases in which there was no second edition, this high price remained the only price to the readers who had to have the book. Now, the American edition of such a work is planned at once for the widest possible market, and to this end is issued at a popular price. The publisher knows that, when he can control the market, a wide sale at the low price demanded by the requirements of American readers secures in the end the most remunerative results. The prices, therefore, of literature other than fiction—that is, of history, biography, science, and the like—are lower than before. On this point I will cite the testimony of Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, who is in a position to know:

"The first great benefit of international copyright has been the gradual decline in the price of standard foreign works. Before the passage of the act,—when, for instance, an English publishing house could not be protected in its editions of important medical and scientific works by foreign authors,—the only course to pursue was to charge a very high selling-price for a limited market, which rarely extended beyond Great Britain. Works of this class are now, however, planned to secure a market on both sides of the Atlantic, and the result is much larger sales at popular prices. This brings a substantial advantage to the more scholarly readers of the community, who are able to secure, at lower prices than heretofore, editions of scientific works which have been carefully printed to meet their own special requirements. The dread that the bill would create publishing monopolies proves to have been entirely unfounded. One of the most noteworthy results of the law, from the American standpoint, has been the cleansing effect upon the character of reprinted fiction. By far the larger proportion of the cheap novels of an undesirable character with which the market has been flooded during the past fifteen years were the work of English or French authors. A group of publishing houses in the United States, which made a specialty of cheap books, vied with each other in the business of appro-

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priating English and Continental trash, and printed this under villainous covers, in type ugly enough to risk a serious increase of ophthalmia among American readers."

There is a noteworthy increase in the number of international undertakings, works, or series, the contributions to which are written by the best authorities on special subjects, the writers for which are secured from this country, from England, or from the Continent, wherever the best men happen to be. Such international publications existed before the copyright, but were then carried on at a special disadvantage. Now, the editorial work can be done with proper deliberation, and the publishers can afford to pay the best writers for the best work. The cost of the authorship (and of the illustrations, if any are required) being divided between two or more markets, publishers are able to give to the readers, at a moderate price, the best material in a satisfactory and attractive form. Publications of this class often require several years for their preparation, and two years is not a long enough period to enable this phase of the results of copyright to be fairly tested. With an adequate protection of property in literary productions, irrespective of political boundaries, we can confidently expect in the near future a large development of such international undertakings,—a development which will prove of direct service to both writers and readers and to the work of higher education.

While the artists of the Continent whose creations, reproduced in the form of engravings or photogravures, are available for sale in the United States, are deriving from the law, if not as large returns as were at first hoped for, yet substantial advantage, the Continental authors have been very seriously disappointed, and seem to have legitimate grounds for their disappointment and for their criticism. These authors complain that they have been invited to a "barmecide feast," and that they have "thanked us for nothing." The condition that the work, to be protected by American copyright, must be manufactured in this country, and that the American edition must be published not later than the edition in the country of origin, causes inconvenience and difficulty to the authors of England; but it is practically prohibitory in the cases of works originally issued in a foreign language. It is almost impossible for a French or German author to arrange to issue his book in this country (either in the original or in a translation) simultaneously with the publication abroad. The resetting in the original language, for such limited

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sale as could be looked for here, would be unduly expensive, while time is required for the preparation of a satisfactory translation. As a result of this restriction, but few French or German authors have been able to secure the protection of the act, and the French Society of Authors, to whose initiative and efforts were chiefly due the international copyright system now in force throughout Europe, has found occasion to criticise very sharply the procedure of the Americans in granting literary copyright in form while withholding it in fact.

While the Copyright Act is defective as well in its bearing upon the interests of Continental authors as in sundry other respects, and ought in my judgment certainly to be amended, I am of opinion that it would be unwise at this time to make any effort to secure such amendments. The public opinion which creates and directs legislative opinion is not yet sufficiently assured in its recognition of the rights of literary producers, to be trusted to take an active or intelligent interest in securing more satisfactory protection for such producers. There would be grave risk that, if the copyright question were reopened in the present Congress, we might, in place of developing or improving the copyright system, take a step backward, and lose the partial measure of international copyright that it has taken the efforts of half a century to secure.

The provision establishing international copyright is only a clause in the general Copyright Act, and the whole act ought before many years to be carefully revised. Work of this kind, instead of being referred at the outset to a Congressional committee whose interest in the subject or ability to consider it intelligently could not with certainty be depended upon, ought to be entrusted to a Commission of experts selected for the purpose, which should be instructed to take evidence and to submit a report to serve as a basis for legislation. This is the system that has been pursued with the copyright legislation of England, France, Germany, and Italy, and is what might be termed the scientific method of arriving at satisfactory legislation on subjects of intricacy or complexity.

Among the recommendations that would be placed before such a Commission would be one for the lengthening of the term of copyright. The present term (twenty-eight years, with a right of renewal to an author, to his widow, or to his children, for fourteen years) is shorter than that of any civilized country. The British term is forty-two years, or the life of the author and seven years, whichever

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term be the longer; the German, the life of the author and thirty years; the French, the life of the author and fifty years. The amended British law now pending in Parliament (the Monkswell bill) accepts the German term, the life of the author and thirty years. Under the American law, an author may see his earlier productions pirated during his own lifetime, as happened to Longfellow, and, more recently, to Donald G. Mitchell.

By the time an amended copyright bill is in shape for consideration, it is probable that the typographical unions will have convinced themselves that they do not require the aid of the "manufacturing" provision forbidding the importation of foreign type or plates for copyrighted books. Such a provision has no logical connection with copyright, but belongs rather with the prohibitory division of a tariff act, such as that which now forbids, as equally dangerous and undesirable, the importation of obscene literature and of ships. When, with a developed public opinion and a more robust condition of mind on the part of the typographers, the conclusion has been reached that the manufacturing condition can be spared from the Copyright Act, the United States will be free to unite with the other civilized nations of the world in accepting the world-wide copyright of the Berne Convention.

GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

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A CHRISTMAS REMINDER OF THE NOBLEST WORK IN THE WORLD.

THE fact that appeals most strongly to students of social conditions in our day is the apparent tendency of city life to corrupt the very young. Here in New York, despite evidence that persistent, loyal efforts to check this perilous tide has begun to tell, the police are constantly found marvelling at the hardihood with which mere boys are trying to "break their way into prison." Whenever a particularly bold robbery is perpetrated and the robbers hunted down, they turn out as a rule to be very young lads, graduates from the gangs in the tenement-house districts. So in Chicago, when representatives of the Women's Christian Temperance Union went the round of the low dives, the strong impression they appear to have borne away with them was less of the vileness of those whom they found there—that was expected—than of their extreme youth. Many of them seemed the merest children, and doubtless were. The census tells the same story of all great cities. The drift of the population everywhere to the commercial and industrial centres may be held to account for their larger share of crime, but not for this other fact of their becoming thieves so much earlier than formerly. What, then, is the influence in city life that so perverts its youth? I make it out to be its loosening of home-ties by a variety of causes, but, chief among them all, by the tenement. There may be a home in a barrack, but a city of barracks can never be a city of homes. All the influences and instincts of tenement life do violence to the home ideal,—are bent upon destroying it. And they do destroy it, with the result that they rob our youth of the strongest of the natural forces which make for good at the age when character is formed.

To restore the lost balance, then, it is necessary to erect a barrier first of all against the influence of this tenement which causes the mischief. Abolish it we cannot; and, as for improving it to the point of comparative harmlessness, here in New York we are, let us say, rather slow about it. The enemy cannot be circumvented. It is necessary to face him squarely and in open fight. This is what

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the Children's Aid Society has done. Against the barrier it has thrown up in defence of helpless childhood in our city, all the evil forces of the slums have raged now for forty years, but it has beaten them back. Its victory is the victory of faith-inspired humanity over the powers of hell. It has saved our faith in human nature by demonstrating that not society, but the child-thieves were the real victims, victims of wicked environment, of which this so-shocked society had guilty knowledge. Given the chance he had never had, this very child—arraigned for total depravity on the showing of his crimes—has not only recovered himself, but often, when it was not hopelessly lost, the very den that gave him up. The child that goes dirty and ragged to the kindergarten or the industrial school every morning for one week or one month, returning clean and whole at noon, is a complete campaign of education in himself. There comes one bright and blessed morning when he arrives at school with shining face and patched elbows, and the teacher thanks God in her heart for a new miracle wrought on earth through the very human agencies of soap and needle; for she knows that the redemption of that slum tenement has that day begun. The clean little face will be reflected in clean walls and scrubbed floors at home, and by and by in clean lives in keeping with the new surroundings. It is all a matter of time and encouragement.

It was less the children of the tenement than those whom it had passed on to an even worse instructor,—the street,—for whom Charles Loring Brace pleaded when forty years ago he made his first appeal to an aroused but bewildered public in these words, ever after the keynote of all his work: "We call upon all who recognize that these are the little ones of Christ, all who believe that crime is best averted by sowing good influences in childhood, all who are friends of the helpless, to aid us in our enterprise." But though his plea was for the homeless vagrants, his prophetic vision had already then surveyed the whole field and laid down the lines of the campaign against the slums as it has been fought up to this day. The years have brought no change of method, but only a development of the ideas set forth in that first circular. Its argument was for the restoration of the lost home. It rested its case upon that as the supreme need. Whatever might be done by schooling and sheltering the young within reach of the slum tenement, those whom it cast out, or who could be wrenched from it, were to be put beyond it with all speed. Nor were they to be herded in prison schools or institutions,

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but to be placed at once in farm homes, where, surrounded by healthful influences, they might grow up honest, self-supporting men and women, without expense to the public. Mr. Brace felt sure that they would do so, and his faith was not put to shame. Of quite eighty thousand children so transplanted in the forty years of the Society's existence, scarcely four per cent have brought discredit upon it. The rest have justified the hopes that were entertained for them and become useful citizens. The whole world has been brought around, by the spectacle, to the recognition of the principles underlying the Society's work, long bitterly contested,—that the lessons of industry and self-help are better than alms, and that the farmer's home is the best of all asylums for the outcast child,—as fundamental truths of social science.

The Society to-day maintains twenty-two industrial day-schools in the poorest tenement quarters, thirteen night-schools, five boys' lodging-houses, one lodging-house for homeless girls, a farm-school in Westchester County, a children's summer home and a cottage for crippled girls at Bath Beach, a health home on Coney Island, and a sick children's mission with headquarters in the East-Side Lodging-House. Its schools have sheltered more than a hundred thousand children since the first was opened in the basement of a Roosevelt-Street church. Last year the registry was 12,516, and the average daily attendance about 5,000. These children come from the poorest homes in the city. They are very often too dirty and ragged to find a place in the public schools, and, besides, many of them cannot speak or understand English. Quite half of them are born abroad, and the greater share of the native half have foreign parents. They are not only taught, but clothed and fed at the school; and, while the hot meal they receive there is not held out as a bait, it has in fact become a powerful educational influence by itself, not only as a means of attracting the children to the school,—very often it is the one solid meal of the day for them,—but by the opportunity it furnishes for teaching the little ones the ABC of civilized manners.

In Europe these schools would be called ragged schools, and would quite likely be organized on the regimental plan, with uniform and drill by squads. In the plan of the Children's Aid Society these things are most carefully avoided. There is no drill, but not, therefore, lack of discipline, and above all there is no uniform. On the contrary, there is a studied effort to avoid any appearance of monotony in the

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cut or color of the garments made up for the children in the school. It is desired above all things to bring out the best that is in the child himself,—from beneath the dead level of the tenement husk; and everything that might tend to check or hamper the development of individuality is put out of sight. The schools are, in fact as well as in name, industrial schools. The boys are taught, in addition to reading, writing, and figuring, to use hammer, saw, or needle, less with a view to teaching them a trade than to training their eyes, hands, and minds to aptness for lessons yet to come. For the girls there are kitchen-gardens and cooking-schools, where the first rudiments of housekeeping—and with them the first condition for the making of a future home—are mastered. The amount of suffering and misery prevented by these early lessons is best understood by those whom practical experience has taught that one-half, if not more, of the drunkenness that wrecks the lives of the poor, is due to waste and bad cooking at home. The saloon-keeper knows better. He hires the best cook he can get, sets out his free lunch in a clean, comfortable room, and catches the man and his wages.

The plan of the evening schools is extended to the boys' lodging-houses. It is one of the few conditions for admission that the boy must attend the nightly classes. The others are simple enough: He must be without a home—his word is taken for that—and he must wash and behave himself. By that is meant that he must neither chew, swear, nor disturb the class. On this basis he is welcome, and he makes himself at home. The population of a town of good size passes through these houses in the course of the year. Last year more than 6,000 different boys were registered there. They absorb all the vagrant homelessness of our city, and much of its worse-than-homelessness, and that of many another city besides. The lodging-house is their church, their school, their labor-bureau, and their hotel. It is their only friend, and it fills the place. Very carefully the shoal of pauperism is avoided by the wise managers in their dealing with these boys. They give them nothing without pay, but everything so cheaply as to make sure that they shall come there. In their plan, the sturdy independence that is the one useful legacy of the street to the boy becomes the handle by which he is caught and held fast until the kernel of him has been reached, if any kernel there be.

That is not so certain in his case as in the case of the kindergarten child, because the street has already had the first chance—and too

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often had it too long. The big boys of that class have always been the most troublesome charges of the Society. They are too independent, and usually too ingrained in the slum, to take kindly to life on a farm. They know "a heap" more than the farmer, and they let him understand it. Then they are shiftless rovers who rarely stay long in one place. With these and the trouble they have caused eliminated, probably not one per cent of the Society's "emigrants" would be found behaving badly. As an effort toward solving the problem of what to do with them, the Society has this year, through the generosity of one of its friends and stanch supporters, Mrs. Joseph M. White, who supplied the means, established a farm-school at Kensico in Westchester County, where the fitness of the big boys for farm life will be tested before they are sent out. Holes enough will be left in the fence for those who tire of the work to escape through, that being both cheaper and fairer all round than to waste money in sending the lads to farm-houses where they do not want to go and will not stay after they have gone.

For to take the homeless boy out of his debasing environment and plant him where he will have the chance denied him by the city slum, was and is the ultimate object of the Children's Aid Society. Forty years' experience has not shaken its belief that it is the only safe plan for the lad, but it has saved the city enormous sums for the maintenance of eighty thousand children and more in public asylums, or for the building of prisons and gallows for God knows how large a share of this homeless army. A hundredfold—even a thousandfold—has the outlay in money at this end of the line been repaid by the results at the other end. One useful life saved to the world would have been something the value of which no man could measure, but such lives are counted by the thousands and the tens of thousands,—lives which here in the city were given over, in all human likelihood, to the hopeless corruption of the slum. There is to-day scarce a useful trade or a learned profession in the United States which has not drawn for some of its best material upon the darkness and despair of the city's dens of poverty and vice. To thousands of far-off homes these outcast waifs have come as messengers of peace to heal grievous heart-wounds. A Kansas farmer writes of one lad:

"Tongue cannot tell the goodness of Emil in every respect. He is a man and will make his mark in the world. He is going to college; is in his second term. He will be twenty-one years old the 15th of May, and leaves college on the 14th of March, when I expect him to come to the farm—his home."

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From Missouri a clergyman's wife writes in the same mail about "little Mary," rescued when en route to the poor-house, her parents having cast her adrift:

"Our little girl is a treasure, doing well, growing mentally and physically. I have never seen a quicker, brighter child, and I shall ever feel grateful to the Society for the gift."

It was the New York poor-house that yawned for little Mary, but it is not the only one the Children's Aid Society has cheated of its child victims. In coöperation with the State Charities' Aid Association, it works early and late to block the way to this shoal for helpless childhood, insisting always, wherever it steps in, upon cutting off the almshouse, and all that belongs to it, for good and all. The child must thenceforth belong to the Society and to those in whose charge it places it. No breath of the almshouse must ever again touch the young life with its blight. Even with such precautions, the fears of those who take it to their hearts are not always allayed. The Society itself becomes an object of anxious suspicion, because of its frequent inquiries after the child, as instanced in the following letter written by a neighbor in response to an appeal in behalf of a little emigrant from whom no news came,—all letters being returned unopened:

"The child S. is still at ——, and quite well, but they are very jealous for fear he will be taken from them. They are very well-to-do people, and have no children of their own. They want to forget that he is not their very own; that is the reason your letters were returned."

Such letters are a sufficient answer to the question that was raised in the beginning as to the willingness of the farmers to receive the little charges and treat them kindly. In fact, this difficulty, like so many others that were discovered at the outset, proved not to exist at all. In its place was a loving-kindness, a sublime patience with the waifs, which caused the hearts of their city friends to glow, and made their labors for humanity a joy. They were not always light, though the machinery employed is simple enough. When a company of little emigrants—preferably between the ages of three and twelve—has been gathered from the street, the industrial schools, the lodging-houses and the public institutions, cleaned and clothed and presented each with a Bible as the parting gift of their New York friends, an experienced agent chaperones it on its trip to some western or southern village, where its coming is eagerly expected by the population. In-

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terest has been aroused by public discussions of the matter, and a local committee, consisting generally of the best-known citizens, the editor, the judge, and the pastor perhaps, has been appointed to judge of the fitness of the applicants to have charge of the children. On the day of arrival half the town, or maybe the whole town, turns out to welcome them. From twenty miles around and more the farmers come in their wagons to plead for one of the waifs. "There is room at our table and in our hearts for the child," is their plea, and the event proves that they mean it. There is no ceremony of adoption, no question of indenture. The Society prefers to keep charge of the child until adoption comes of itself in later years. Meanwhile the local committee watches over it. To any question of faith or sect, the agent returns the brief answer: "We do not know. We bring you no Protestant or Catholic child, but a *poor* child. Take it and love it. Its life begins here. See that you make the most of it."

Together, what do they make of it? The records of the Society show eighty-five per cent of the children so transplanted as doing well; four per cent are recorded as not doing well; seven per cent as doubtful. The rest have disappeared. In the first category are children who have become doctors, clergymen, bankers, successful merchants, editors, mayors of prosperous cities, legislators, and sturdy farmers. Here a pastor of a thriving Methodist church in Indiana writes, in the midst of a great revival, of being cast upon the world at five or six by a drunken mother. "I well remember seeing her drunk." She left him in the street to perish. Now he prays that the Society will help him find her, if possible. It is the old refrain that has brought tears of gratitude for human nature more than once to the eyes of faithful Mr. Holste, who has kept the correspondence for nearly twoscore years,—the sigh after those left behind in the slum, even from the affluence and the brightness of the new home.

Often it cannot be answered; more frequently the truest charity is not to answer it. One answer, long withheld, but finally extorted by a persistence that would listen to no refusal, discovered what abysses yawn in the lives from which their own have been cut off none too soon. Divested of the little subterfuges dictated by a pitying tenderness for the one who must bear so heavy a blow, it read briefly:

"Your mother was killed in a drunken fight by your father, who was sent to prison. Returning, pardoned, he threw himself from a window and so died. Your sister was murdered by an unknown assassin in a disreputable house."

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Contrast this with the following story of Andrew H. Burke, whom the Society took from Randall's Island in 1859: "I entered him myself," says Mr. Holste, putting his finger on the entry in the big ledger; "heard of him as joining the Sons of Temperance at his home in Indiana, as going to the war a drummer-boy, and coming home 'determined to be somebody in the world.'" Let him tell the rest himself:

"I went to Minneapolis, where I resided for two years, and during said period was married. I was employed in a wholesale dry-goods house while in that city. From there I went to New York Mills, in Minnesota, and took charge of a general store and sawmill, remaining there but a year. Afterward I removed to Casselton, North Dakota, and took a position as bookkeeper in a general store; after six months' time I was made cashier of the First National Bank of said place, which position I held for over three years, and until I was elected Treasurer of the county. The latter place I held for six consecutive years. However, before the close of my treasurership, which was last January, I was unanimously nominated by the Republicans of this State (North Dakota) for the position of Governor, and at the general election last November was duly elected to the high honor, and inaugurated January 7th last, for a period of two years. So the little boy whom you took from the Nursery thirty-three years ago to send to a home in the West is now a full-fledged Governor of a sovereign State of this Union. Tell the boys I am proud to have had as humble a beginning in life as they, and that I believe it has been my salvation. I hope my success in life, if it can be so termed, will be an incentive to them to struggle for a respectable recognition among their fellow-men. In this country, family name cuts but little figure. It is the character of the man that wins recognition; hence I would urge them to build carefully and consistently for the future.

"ANDREW H. BURKE."

"The mocking-birds are beginning to lay, and are hatching little birds," writes W—— B—— from Florida; "if I can raise some, I will send Mr. Trott one; he said he wanted one badly." From Missouri comes this shout:

"I can say that I am as well satisfied as anybody would be. I can eat until I am satisfied. I drink cow's milk all I want. We have plenty of hog's meat. You would not know me now, I have grown so fat. I do not want to live in the city any more."

And from another corner of the same State this:

"I will tell you I was glad to get out here. If some of those poor boys in New York would come out here, they would think they were in heaven every day."

Little Patrick had been "out there" four years, but had not tired of it, so it seems.

And here is little Katie, child of an insane mother, who wormed

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herself into the heart of her Nebraska foster-mother in short order, with her testimony:

"I went with mamma to visit an aunt in Colorado. I don't like the country as well as ours; they haven't so many trees as we have. The land is not good for farmers—I think too hilly, and they don't keep as many chickens as we have, though they have more pigs. I have a pet white cat. I try to be a good girl, but sometimes I am naughty. I have a good mamma and papa."

Aye, this mother whom the old home never knew—how the letters teem with praises of her! "One of the sweetest dispositions, the most kindly patience, the most generous-hearted and lovable woman on God's green earth, is she who lets me call her mother," writes one street waif from his Minnesota home.

One might continue the account through many volumes. In the Society's office it fills twenty-nine big canvas-bound ledgers with a light that blazes out between the leaves of every one, and will not be shut in once you know what they hold. There are stories there for a hundred novels more realistic and more startling than any fiction ever written. But I will quote only one more letter, one of the few that have a different sound. It comes from a poor fellow in hard luck and somewhat mixed, apparently. It is seventeen years since he started west:

"I suppose you think I am dead. I ain't, and I have had pretty bad luck. I have three horses die for me since I have started out to work for myself. I had bad luck, so I got discouraged and could not write. The horses that died was worth about $300. I have got me a horse; he is three years old and weighs about 1,200 pounds. I got married when I was 22 years old to a French lady, and she weighs about 145 pounds. I weigh about 165, and I had to work hard for my horse. She was five years old when she died. I thought more of her than of anything I owned. I saved some of her mane."

Thus the written record. In forty years this Society has expended between six millions and seven millions of dollars, contributed—by far the largest share of it—by the wealthy men and women of New York. That is the other side of its work, unheralded and unrecorded save there, where the doings of that left hand which gives unknown to the right are known and appreciated. For a generation and a half this Society has stood between suffering poverty on the one side and often unjustly abused wealth on the other, filling up the gap as nothing else could. The first large giver to the work was a woman whose very name was synonymous with wealth; and since that day hundreds upon hundreds of poor children who never, if they heard it, had connected any other idea with it, have thanked the Astors for their chance for an honest and useful life. Other names

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which the unthinking crowd may sometimes connect only with money-getting stand for large gifts freely, gladly, not grudgingly given, on the Society's books. The Rhinelanders, the Potters, the Cuttings, the Livingstons, the Lords, the Wheelers, the Hewsons, Mrs. Joseph M. White, Mrs. Mary Van Nest, Miss Catherine Wolfe, Mrs. Robert L. Stewart, Jacob H. Schiff, Miss Matilda W. Bruce, Morris K. Jesup —the list might be extended to fill pages—have been among the conspicuous benefactors of the poor children. East and West among the crowding tenements, handsome schools and lodging-houses stand transmitting the story of their faith and their munificence to coming generations. I well remember the glow at the heart it gave me once to find Mrs. William H. Vanderbilt providing the crippled boys in the brush-shop—the most wretched and hopeless of the Society's wards—with artificial limbs as *their* one chance which they would certainly never otherwise have got. Nor is it only by alms that the rich testify their loving sympathy for their brothers in poverty and distress. In the industrial schools, among the homeless lads in the lodging-houses, men and women who are too often supposed to waste their lives in the pursuit of frivolous pleasures, labor and teach nightly, humbly treading in His footsteps who bade the world remember that even these little ones were His brothers whose "angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

Down town the Duane Street Newsboys' Lodging-House stands as a fitting memorial—more eloquent than statue of bronze or marble—to the great founder of this great work. Mr. Brace was a man for an emergency. With extraordinary powers of organization he united a steadfast Christian faith, a freedom from sectarian narrowness, and a never-flagging enthusiasm for humanity which fitted him for a great work. He did it faithfully and well. What more can be said of any man? His works live after him, a blessing to humanity to the farthest generations. To-day no homeless boy need wander the streets of New York long. Hospitable doors open to let him in on every hand. The girl vagrant we have got rid of altogether, thank God. In ten years, while one-fourth was added to our city's population, the homelessness of our streets, measuring it by the returns of the Society's lodging-houses, has been decreased by one-fifth. Surely, the labors of this devoted man have borne abundant fruit.[1] JACOB A. RIIS.

[1] The Treasurer of the Children's Aid Society is George S. Coe, American Exchange National Bank, 128 Broadway, New York. The cost of sending one homeless child to a western home is $25.

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ARE FOOT-BALL GAMES EDUCATIVE OR BRUTALIZING?

An indignant editorial writer in a great medical journal of our country characterizes foot-ball as "a worn-out, brutal old game, second-hand from England."[1] Certainly it is an old game; worn-out it certainly is not, unless the events of this autumn show it to be; but whether it is necessarily brutal or not, is a point about to be discussed. It is probably more universally played in this country than any game except base-ball, when base-ball was at its height of popularity. So universally popular is it, so do the great colleges of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton set the fashion of sports, that every small and great college in the land has its foot-ball team. Small boys in Gramercy Park are imitating their seniors, and workmen in great manufactories gorge themselves for five minutes from the dinner-pail, and then rush off to spend the remaining fifty-five minutes of the hour for the midday meal in foot-ball. Our newspapers are full of accounts more or less graphic, and always illustrated with the portraits of captains, full-backs, and full teams. So far from being worn out, the old game has a revival in the United States, and is at the very height of this revival. This is true also of England, where foot-ball, after many vicissitudes of favor and fashion, holds its own at the great public schools.

The present objections to the game, as a rough one, are not at all new. It has always had a bad reputation, and such was its character in the time of James the First, that that monarch forbade his heir-apparent to play it, and he himself describes the game, in one of the numerous learned treatises he was so fond of writing, as "meeter for laming than making able the users thereof." It seems to have been played in England in the early part of this century with a great deal of roughness, so that shutters had to be put up and houses to be closed when it was going on. The ball must have been kicked much oftener then than now. Fatal accidents occurred then as they do at the present time, and finally foot-ball day died out. But there was

[1] The "Medical News," Nov. 18, 1893.

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a revival in England, and the modern Rugby game is essentially the one that is played in the United States to-day, while at Harrow and at Winchester kicking alone is allowed.

It is fifty-three years since Yale University—then Yale College—began to play foot-ball. But then it was only the Freshman class that played with—or rather against—the Sophomores. It is said that the game there was born from threatened bloodshed; that is to say, from the threat of a fight between the Sophomores and the Freshmen. This combative way of settling a difficulty between the two classes was gravely proposed, but the Seniors came to the rescue, and, as a compromise, the disputed question as to which was the stronger class was arranged to be settled by a foot-ball match. The game of this time was very simple. The ball was roughly formed and covered with leather. The two classes faced each other some distance apart. A ball was placed between them, and they rushed for it at a given signal. They seem to have had a fight all the same, although that was not the name of the game.

This is said to have been Yale's first foot-ball game. The Harvard men learned it from Yale. So much was said in the year's interim of the comparatively innocent annual foot-ball fight between the Yale Freshmen and Sophomores, of its roughness and dangers, that each new Freshman class was torn by dissensions as to whether the usual challenge should be sent to the Sophomores; but generally, if not always, the fighting side won the day, and a game was played. The intercollegiate contests finally stopped all this, and men are now selected with great care from all the classes to make up teams, to train which a great deal of time is spent, during both vacation and term time, by retired players who act as coaches, until the team to meet Harvard or Princeton is chosen. It is openly charged that in some colleges men are allowed to enter and remain, who do no studying of any account, simply because they are good quarter or full backs. This is probably not true of the older colleges, where all the players seem to be chosen from *bona fide* students; yet it is impossible to resist the conviction, judging from the interest of college faculties in the game, that a very good foot-ball player must be a very bad scholar indeed, if allowed to drop out on account of his standing, so long as he is an important member of the team.

But it is not for the sake of writing an historical account that I have undertaken to discuss the game of foot-ball as now played between the colleges. So many questions as to the influence of the

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game upon the intellectual, the moral, and the physical conditions of students have lately arisen, that I have thought it proper to attempt to re-sift the now large mass of evidence and give an opinion as to whether the game ought to go or to stay. Judging from the general tone of the press, King James was right in refusing to allow his son (afterward Charles the First) to play foot-ball. It is claimed on many sides, and by people entitled to great respect for their opinions, that it is a game that can never be properly played; that it cannot be placed on a footing like that of base-ball, cricket, or other athletic amusements, because it is intrinsically brutal and dangerous. There are also side issues of perhaps less importance to be tried, such as whether the game is so engrossing in its influence as to interfere with proper studies and discipline in college, and whether it promotes gambling. But this first issue belongs to base-ball and boat-racing equally with foot-ball, except that the latter game, being so much more popular than the others, involves more students in its pursuit. This side issue is thus a question that pertains to all competitive athletic exercises among college students. It does not seem to me to be one that will ever come to any great importance, since it is obviously under the control of the college authorities to determine just how high a standard of scholarship they shall prescribe. In other words, how much they shall allow athletics to interfere with study is purely a matter of discipline. Besides, a young man is in college chiefly to learn how to study. He can never become a great scholar in the best American college, during his four years of undergraduate life, although he may imbibe a spirit and learn methods which may some day make him one, if scholar he is to be. But it is not intended that many of a given class shall become great philologists or mathematicians. The college will have done its full duty to a young man if it puts him in a position whence he may become a learned man, or a good business man, or an accomplished jurist, a statesman, or a sound scientist. I dwell on this point, because I think the great functions of an undergraduate college are sometimes confounded with those of post-graduate and university training. Young men in undergraduate colleges are really boys,—large boys, if you please, but still boys,—and, as boys, actually need much physical as well as mental culture. Much open-air amusement that may be properly omitted from professional schools cannot safely be left out of the curriculum of an undergraduate college, without the dangers that come from the repression of a natural physical excitement. Not

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until the growth of the body has come to a standstill, can this great need of what may seem to be excessive exercise remain unsatisfied.

As to gambling and other vicious habits said to be engendered by foot-ball, they affect very few men compared with the thousands directly participating or interested in the game. Much of the gambling consists of the talk of young boys, some of them connected with no college, although they ostensibly wear its colors, and none of them having much money. Certainly general immorality is not fostered by the training necessary to make a good foot-ball player. The standard of scholarship and morals is perhaps higher in our colleges than it ever was, while there has never been a day in our country when physical culture has been carried to such an extent. The general average of attainment is greater, as also the capacity for endurance, thanks to the gymnasium, and boating, base-ball, and even to the now severely condemned foot-ball.

The only question I propose to consider in any completeness is the one involving the risk to life, limb, and health, and this as regards foot-ball alone; for I start with the concession that the general growth of a taste for games and sports in the open air has been and continues to be of the greatest service to the intellectual, moral, and physical condition of young men in colleges,—and not to them alone, but to young men in schools and engaged in mechanical occupations all over the land. The substitution of out-door sports for those of the gymnasium in-doors has been of marked benefit. Gymnasiums are good, but open-air exercises are better.

It must be conceded, I think, that all out-door sports involve a certain degree of danger of bodily harm to those participating in them. There have been serious injuries even from the innocent and feminine games of tennis and croquet. Young men are frequently injured in training for, and rowing in, a boat-race. This is also true of base-ball. Shooting accidents, in shooting for amusement, are common. It is not long since one of the princes of the royal house of England lost an eye in a shooting-match. Then, again, daily duties involve dangers. Railway travelling in the United States, last summer, certainly was a very dangerous means of getting about. Outcries against rare and exceptional sources of accident are not unusual; and in the matter of the danger from hydrophobia, for example, they have led here and abroad to most extraordinary legislation and most unfounded schemes of cure for a disease that is so rare that it hardly figures as cause of death in the statistics of the great city of

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New York. Just now there is a good deal of excited writing, in medical and lay journals, against the alleged enormities of foot-ball, and there is some justification for it in the fact that serious accidents and death have not infrequently resulted from games. It is claimed that such accidents are invariably connected with the game, and that brutality also has become an essential and constant feature in the game as played between the colleges. If these things be true, there should be no future for foot-ball among civilized people, any more than there should be for prize-fighting.

A severe English critic says: "In the old game you kicked the ball; in the Rugby game you kick a man if you cannot kick the ball; but in the modern American game you kick the ball if you cannot kick the man." Dr. Amidon has collated from the columns of the London "Lancet," during the year 1892, a list of 109 cases of injuries from foot-ball games, sufficient to require hospital treatment. Among these were eleven fatal cases, and many of the others were serious, such as may handicap their victims for life. For example, there were three cases of compound fracture of the arm, one of compound fracture of the elbow, five of compound fracture of the leg.[1] Such an accident not infrequently costs its subject his life.

The catalogue of the "Lancet" is certainly a terrific one; but, to be complete, it should be accompanied by a list of the kind of players, telling whether they were amateurs or experts, and stating also the nature of the discipline maintained by the umpires,—whether or not "slugging" or foul play of any kind was allowed. It is to the disgrace of those who have had any hand in it, that vicious, unmanly things have been done by those calling themselves gentlemen, and who were playing with gentlemen. The writer knows, from the actual statement of one of the persons concerned, that a famous foot-ball player was bitten by an antagonist while he was down. The game in which this occurred was one between students of two great colleges. It has been often commented upon in our newspapers; but for one truthful account of foul play of this kind there are many misstatements about foul play that never occurred.

I have also had occasion, as a near friend of the sufferer, to see a tumor removed from the forearm of a famous foot-ball player, which was of such a doubtful character as to its nature as to keep me in suspense for a week, until a microscopical examination by experts

[1] A "compound fracture" means that not only the bone, but the skin and flesh down to the bone, and connecting with it, are broken.

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happily could say that the tumor was an innocent one and not cancerous. The possibilities in the latter case were not pleasant to contemplate. My readers may not all know that cancerous disease often, although a blood disease, takes its origin in an injury. It was not supposed that there was any foul play connected with the receipt of this injury. The surgeon who performed this operation told me that he knew, from his own professional observation, of not less than four foot-ball players in famous teams, who had received serious injuries requiring surgical treatment, some of which would more or less hamper their subjects during life. I knew also a member of a foot-ball team in one of our colleges, who was obliged to give up all study for a year or more, and whose head was not then performing its functions properly. I state these instances in my personal knowledge to show that, in addition to having read the catalogue of the "Lancet," I am not entirely ignorant of what may occur in foot-ball. Another notable case which has excited much comment is the one occurring in Farmington, Conn., where an amateur player was paralyzed, and subsequently died, from being fallen upon in a game.

But, on the other hand, foot-ball is not alone in having its accidents. It was only during the last summer that a very prominent and valuable member of the medical profession was injured for life, on his knee, by the rebound of a ball used in bowling. Very lately a professor in one of our colleges, and a student whom he took out rowing, were drowned by the upsetting of the boat. The accidents from what everybody calls perfectly legitimate and proper amusements are in quite large proportion to the numbers of those engaging in them. I mean such amusements as bowling, sailing, boat-rowing, horseback-riding, driving, base-ball, cricket, shooting, coasting, and so forth. What boy or young man has not suffered accidents in such amusements? We cannot fairly press the argument from frequent accidents too far, because people are injured in foot-ball. We are bound, if we wish a decision for its abolition, to prove that not only is the proportion of accidents in excess of those in other sports, but that they are necessarily incidents of a proper game of foot-ball. The expert foot-ball players themselves say that no man is fit to play foot-ball until he has been coached from the simplest to the most trying places, and that a large proportion of the terrible accidents are among young men who are unfitted, from want of training, to take what are great risks to them, but which are not risks at all to young men properly chosen and properly coached. The most numerous of

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the accident cases admitted to the wards of the old New York Hospital in my time as house-surgeon were from the ranks of amateur boxers, and of untrained, unskilled men—hostlers, stablemen, day-laborers, and the like, who are notoriously fond of horse-play. Of the driving accidents in Central Park, the greater proportion are among or caused by persons who do not know how a horse should be harnessed or driven. The terrible case at Farmington, of which so much has properly been said, was that of an amateur undertaking to do what an expert only should attempt. I am unable from the data at hand to analyze the table in the "Lancet," but I am sure, from similar investigations, that such an analysis will show that a large proportion were scarcely accidents, but natural occurrences among those who were never prepared by training for the game.

It is, however, true that radical changes have been made in the Rugby game (although I observe that a Yale professor claims that it has been improved here), which have increased its difficulties and danger. The flying wedge—the forcing of a solid triangle of vigorous men upon one or two isolated but sternly resisting players—is a modern innovation that ought at once to be abolished. Foot-ball has become too much a game of mere massed force, exerted—as in the wedge—upon antagonists who have no real chance to resist. Those who look on are beginning to lament the absence of kicking and great runs. One critic says of the Princeton and Yale game:

> "On Thanksgiving Day only two incidents relieved the monotony of the inveterate 'lining up' and 'bucking the centre.' The first was Butterworth's magnificent run, and the second was when little stumpy King, of Princeton, in the second half, on a fly catch, picked up his feet and went down the field like a meteor flash."

As to "slugging," if one umpire be not enough to prevent it, watchers should be called into the game, who should be sufficient in number to see that no man can have the opportunity to strike an antagonist, and, if he does, that he shall be banished from the field then and forever. Mr. Walter Camp fully recognizes the dangers of the innovations and the atrocity of "slugging." He and all experts in athletics deplore the excessive "mass playing," and fully admit the necessity for reform; and there is no reasonable doubt but that the general and timely outcry of the press will result in good: but I do not think it will banish games between colleges, although it is to be hoped that it will cause it to be no more dangerous than the ordinary

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sports of young men. A recent reviewer of two books on college sports ("The New York Evening Post," Nov. 25, 1893), says:

> "There is a line, however, which separates roughness from brutality, and there are many lovers of the game who, after watching its recent developments with grave concern, believe that that line has been crossed."

And he quotes a "frank admission that foot-ball has deteriorated," and continues:

> "With the introduction of the wedge, much of the picturesqueness of foot-ball passed away. Many a regret is heard because the days of long passes, open play, free running, and repeated kicking are gone. The wedge contracts the play; it huddles the players; it removes the brilliancy and effect of individual effort, it injures too many players, a dozen ankles and knees being sprained to-day to one ten years ago. These disadvantages have called forth adverse criticism relative to the wedge."

The reforms I have indicated would, as this reviewer adds, rehabilitate a game that has ceased to be *foot*-ball. That there may be still foot-ball without serious accidents, those who witnessed the game between Yale and Harvard in Springfield, and Princeton and Yale in New York, certainly will admit. There are many things that young college men formerly generally indulged in, that are now in a not-to-be-regretted limbo, thanks to the craze for foot-ball and boat-racing. Hazing and assaults upon tutors are among them. The whole country, to the humblest hamlet, feels the impulse from the struggle for mastery at Hampden Park and Manhattan Field. It is an impulse which tends to self-control and discipline, and the cultivation of habits which strengthen the whole physical and moral being.

Colonel Church, in the December number of "The Century Magazine," quotes reports from sixty-seven institutions of learning in the United States, giving information as to the influence of foot-ball upon class standing, and upon physical, moral, and mental development. The general conclusion from these reports, he says, is that foot-ball holds the chief place among athletic games in developing qualities especially necessary in an officer of the army or navy. Preservation of temper under trying circumstances, subordination of individuality, prompt decision and action, and tactical and strategic combinations, are said to be qualities promoted by playing foot-ball.

The Duke of Wellington, himself an Eton boy, is alleged to have said that the boys of the public schools of England—"the boys of Eton and Harrow"—won the battle of Waterloo. Whether he actually said this or not, he might have said it, and it may be true.

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The historian of to-day may add that it was the same kind of boys that were the men of Inkerman and Balaklava; and, to turn to our country, the memorial tablets of Harvard, Yale, Annapolis, and West Point show that the trained athletes of our colleges were not found wanting in our great civil strife, when their service in the foot-ball team, the base-ball field, the boat-rowing match, and the riding-school, stood them in good stead for some of the moral and physical endurance required on both sides.

That vast crowd of forty thousand people in New York on that beautiful November day—an orderly, well-dressed, even cultivated and intellectual mass of humanity, in great measure composed of brave young men and beautiful young girls—were not there to gloat over an injury done the boys who were their brothers, their friends, or perhaps their lovers. Those fathers and mothers looking eagerly and anxiously upon their sons struggling for the mastery had no other object than to cheer on young athletes, who by stern self-control and great diligence were there to show their capacity and endure hardship, as becomes soldiers and men. It is a travesty in description to compare such a scene, as some critics have done, to the spectacle of a bull-fight. Rather let us compare that vast crowd and those trained young men to the Greeks at the manly games of a Spartan type in classic Olympia. No one was seriously hurt on this day or at the recent game between West Point and Annapolis.

I do not believe, with proper oversight and a return to foot-ball as it should be played, that serious injuries are at all essential to the game. I plead, therefore, for reform; but that against which I raise my voice is the abolition of what under proper control benefits directly and indirectly the physical and moral being of thousands of the young men of the country. It will, indeed, be a sad day for us if the creation of a proper system of athletics in our colleges—which has produced a better race of men than the old haphazard means for exercise were capable of doing—should be overturned in consequence of brutalities in the foot-ball game. Neither do I share the wish expressed in some quarters that foot-ball may not be played in New York, where thousands who else would never see a great trial of endurance and skill can see and enjoy it. It is good for New York to see the college boys, and for a few hours join in their enthusiasm; and it is good for college boys to play upon the broadest of arenas, and to be subject, if need be, to the severest criticism.

D. B. St. John Roosa.

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PRESIDENT SCHURMAN, OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

THE game of foot-ball as now played, and the advisability of permitting intercollegiate matches to be played away from college grounds, are matters now receiving a good deal of attention in the newspapers, from which source the people are learning of the magnitude of problems regarding the development of physical training at colleges, which have arisen to perplex and distress the men to whom our youth are entrusted for the purpose of procuring a liberal education. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that educators themselves have not all along been painfully conscious of these problems, or that they have not striven to find wise solutions. They will rejoice that the press has been moved to second their efforts, and in this reinforcement of popular sentiment they will recognize the promise of a satisfactory adjustment of a difficulty with which, unaided, they have not been able to cope. But they have received little new information from the newspapers which have of late given so much attention to foot-ball and other college games. There is scarcely a fact or an argument in all the recent writing on athletics which does not repeat what was said more than two years ago by Professor Wilder, of Cornell University, in a paper since published by the University of the State of New York, in Regents' Bulletin, No. 8, pp. 360–375.

As to foot-ball, if there was truth in Dr. Wilder's strong but judicial condemnation then, it is still less open to question to-day, for the character of the game has steadily deteriorated, as the experts themselves now declare. The "flying wedge" and other modifications of the play, which have lessened the relative importance of running, kicking, and catching, have transformed the game into a contest not merely rough, but dangerous to life and limb, brutal in itself, revolting to look upon, and degrading to the humanity of both participants and beholders. As I understand the matter, however, these conditions are not essential to the playing of foot-ball. And if by a foot-ball convention, or in any other authoritative manner, the game could be rescued from the brutalizing features which have given a shock to our humane sentiments, I should think it entitled to a new trial on its intrinsic merits; and I see much in it (at any rate as it used to be played) which makes me think it would permanently hold a place among the games proper to young men. A rough sport it must always be; but a certain degree of roughness is no bad seasoning for the recreations of those who are conscious of superabundant physical

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energy. If, on the other hand, the game cannot be purged of its revolting excrescences, its fate is sealed; and foot-ball contests will be remembered only as survivals, in the midst of civilization, of the outrageous sports of barbarians. Until the effort at reform has failed, however, I shall not believe that foot-ball is in itself a coarse or undesirable form of physical recreation.

Though much has been said of late in regard to the brutal character of foot-ball, the gravamen of the best criticism seems to extend to the general policy of intercollegiate athletics. It is charged that the pitting of the "crews" and "teams" of one college against another is undermining in the students, and also in the public, those intellectual interests for the nourishment and cultivation of which all educational institutions exist. These contests, it is said, pervert the object of the colleges and set up false standards of excellence; they cast down the laurels of scholarship and exalt the trophies of the sporting-ground. Should students who have been sent to college for the training of their intellects and the formation of their characters be permitted to make a gladiatorial spectacle for the mobs of our great cities? Is there no shame in the taking of gate-money? Do not these intercollegiate games foster a predominance of athletic interest which can be traced in the conversation, thought, and reading of the students when in college residence? Nay, is not the college world the scene of a semi-professional athleticism, which engenders betting, condones trickery for the sake of success, and knows no other glory for *Alma Mater* than the pæan of victory on the athletic field?

There is some truth in these implications, but also much error. The work of the college or university goes on noiselessly; it is not exciting enough for the newspaper; and when the athletic doings of a few students—say, from one to five per cent of the entire enrolment—bring the institution into public notice, the accidental circumstance is invested with a significance, and heralded with a fulness of details, altogether out of proportion either to the character of the event or to its place in the life and activity of the institution as a whole. Intercollegiate athletics may appear to be a great business for the colleges because for a day they are the talk of the entire city; but it is not so. Nor do I think that they have led to a general lowering either of the intellectual tone or of the scholarly work of the colleges. On the other hand, I believe that the moral evils which seem to be inseparable from intercollegiate sports in great cities have been less exaggerated than any other objections which have ever been urged against them.

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Why do we have these contests? The answer is not far to seek. Rivalry and emulation are the psychological sources of all sports and games; and the play takes on an intensity of interest as these impulses are deeply stirred, not merely at the time, but also in anticipation. By its very nature, therefore, any college game demands for the perfection of enjoyment a second college to play on the other side. Failing this, the game may be played between different classes or departments of the same institution, though with less zest, or with a diminution of that thrilling satisfaction which fills the student's mind and heart on the occasion of a victory over a different institution. It is natural, therefore, that there should be contests between different colleges, but what is natural is not always expedient or right. It would be absurd to attempt to put an end to sports, for they have deep roots in the nature of man—roots which strike even into the soil of animal life. But athletics may be regulated: restrictions may be put both upon the games and upon the players. And the whole question before us resolves itself into this: what kind of regulation should sports to-day receive at the hands of college authorities?

Now I will answer that question by asking another. What duty do teachers owe to students under the terms of the contract which the institution virtually makes with its patrons, its benefactors, and the public? Surely the duty of teaching them during the whole of the college year as officially announced. Is it not then a breach of trust, though a breach more common than the observance, when college authorities permit students to absent themselves from their daily exercises, or remit their daily work, for the sake of engaging in out-of-town contests or exhibitions? Some foot-ball "teams" have been absent from their colleges as much as one-fifth of the entire fall term, in order to play with other organizations. This is certainly wrong. The primary, the inviolable duty of educators is to keep all the students at work in the college during the entire period which has been announced as the college year. Where this is not accepted as the rule, holidays for such contests should be announced in the calendar. I do not assert that to this rule there may not be occasional exceptions. But if so they must be justified as special instances. The presumption is always against students going away from the college to play games during term time, because their sole business in college is to study. The college is not a training-school for racers and players; the degree of B.A. does not mean Bachelor of Athletics.

But what of holidays? If members of different institutions choose

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during the summer vacation to measure their strength or skill against one another, I see no great objection. It is a private matter; and as it takes place when students are scattered all over the country, it is free from most of the abuses which have been deplored. It is different, however, with the Thanksgiving recess. And I frankly express my opinion that, if college "teams" are to continue the practice of going to great cities, and drawing thither hundreds—or perhaps, more correctly, thousands—of students, in order to make a "Roman holiday" for the crowd, on the sole condition of the crowd paying gate-money,—a thought so humiliating that I will add nothing concerning the dangers to this goodly company of youth in a strange city,—neighboring institutions of learning may be compelled to consider the advisability of instituting scholastic exercises at Thanksgiving in order to save their students from the influences of so demoralizing a spectacle.

College games, then, are to be conditioned, in the first place, by the fact that the players are students who should not as a rule leave the college during term time.

A second limitation, which will, I think, be deemed fair and manly, is that these contests between students should be regarded as exhibitions *for students*, and not primarily for the public. They are prostituted when they are treated as money-making shows. The proper place for them is the college field; and in cities this should not be given up to the crowd.

Thirdly, not more time should be given to games than is compatible with the demands of study. Training for intercollegiate contests has now reached such a pitch that a foot-ball player, for example, on one of the best "teams," must give the larger part of his time during the season to practice and preparation for the contests. Now one of two things is evident. Either these students are shown favors by the college authorities, or the standard of scholarship required of all members of the institution is absurdly low. What an athlete can study in a small fraction of his time cannot fill up profitably the studious hours of the average undergraduate.

I will say in conclusion that I believe, not in less, but in more of physical training and exercise for students. My ideal is a moderate participation in athletics by large numbers, and not an excessive and unjustifiable devotion on the part of a few. Why, for example, should not hundreds of students of Cornell University be seen every spring term rowing on Lake Cayuga under the instruction of a competent director? I would rather have an endowment for this general

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training than for any coaching of experts, however effective it might prove to be. In a few years I suspect the current views on athletics will be looked upon as hallucinations; and we shall all return to the good old watch-words of self-respect, moderation, and the greatest good to the greatest number. J. G. SCHURMAN.

PRESIDENT ANGELL, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

IN answer to the inquiries of the Editor of THE FORUM about foot-ball as now played, and games played elsewhere than on college grounds, I would make the following remarks:

Interest in the game has, I think, not yet become so general and so absorbing in the West as it is in the East. But it is rapidly growing, and Western colleges and universities are likely to have to deal soon with the same problems respecting foot-ball as are now embarrassing the Eastern. I regard foot-ball as a valuable athletic game. It calls for and cultivates temperate and regular habits of living, vigor and agility of body, quickness of perception, readiness of resource, manly courage, skill in planning, and subordination of the individual will to coöperation of the team. These are all admirable fruits of good athletic training. Unhappily, as now conducted, the game seems to be attended with too much danger, and tempts players who are not thoroughly disciplined to some unworthy tricks and to occasional "slugging." I believe that it can be relieved of its objectionable features without depriving it of the interest that it now excites, and I hope that it may be. Perhaps this would require a considerable modification of the rules now followed, but if such modification of them furnishes the only relief from the danger and abuses now complained of, it should be cheerfully made.

In my opinion the cases are rare when it would not be better to have the games on college grounds. Many of the undesirable concomitants, which it is not easy to prevent when the game is played in a city of considerable size at a distance from the colleges, would, it is probable, be generally avoided in the college town. Still I am not confident that this would always be true, if the excitement over games should continue to be as great as it now appears to be in the East.

May I add one remark on another matter? A large part of the public and many newspapers are censuring college faculties for not suppressing the evils connected just now with the game. Does it not occur to the public and to the newspapers that the evils are in no

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small degree due to their extraordinary, not to say irrational, manifestations of interest in the contests, and in their extravagant hero-worship of a victorious player or team? Did Dr. Woolsey or Dr. McCosh ever occupy such a prominence in any issue of the daily journals of New York as the Yale and the Princeton team after their recent victories? To win in such a contest, when the eyes not only of many thousand actual spectators are on them but also those of millions of newspaper readers, what risks will not high-spirited young men take? And in the attendant excitement, when all the world is going wild, how many zealous youths are tempted to bet! In the flush of victory, how many easily fall into vicious ways of celebrating the triumph! At least in the East, these games have become a part of the life of the public. And if reforms in the conduct of the games are needed, the public and the newspapers as well as the college officers must take part in accomplishing those reforms.

JAMES B. ANGELL.

PRESIDENT WARFIELD, OF LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

COLLEGE athletics, with all the objections that can be raised to the conditions just now so painfully thrust upon public notice, are an unqualified good. They have done more to purify, dignify, and elevate college life than any other influence brought to bear in the past quarter of a century. No man who is conversant with the inside history of the public schools and universities of England and the colleges of America can question this. Many forms of disorder, "barring-outs," "stacking rooms," and so forth, have almost disappeared since the animal spirits of our youth had a systematic outlet. Good morals have been vastly benefited by the strong appeal which systematized athletics make for out-door life, by the constant testimony which they bear to the close connection between frugality and regularity of life, and vigorous manhood. Vices—some of which cannot even be named—which exist wherever men, especially civilized men, are brought together, have been greatly checked. Clean living has found a great coadjutor. Let any man of fifty compare the college escapades of his own day with those of the present time, and he will then confess that the rare exception of to-day was frequent. College life is not to be charged with these irregularities. Put a number of men together, with human appetites, vitality, and a love of freedom, and they will do the same things in city or country or col-

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lege. Neither parental nor collegiate restraints have ever prevented, or ever will prevent, these things. Something better must be laid before our youth, and a stronger attraction must take the place of the attraction to evil.

While I am a strong believer in college athletics, I am not at all of the opinion that they are the best form of bodily exercise. I fully agree with the view expressed by Professor Mahaffy in his "Greek Thought," that not athletics of the gymnasium and the *palæstra*, but "field sports—hunting, shooting, fishing—have produced the finest type of man." The virtues of horsemanship, shooting, and fishing are more akin to mastery of self, and the close relation of man to nature. They beget the larger and the broader man. But they require time and money beyond the scope of college life. Even at Oxford, tandem-driving has long been reckoned the eighth deadly sin, and fox-hunting, which my reverend tutor indulged in each Thursday during the season, came next in the *index expurgatorius*. Field sports being largely out of the question, let us weigh the things which are available for the bodily training of our students.

Among the college sports, foot-ball, base-ball, and lawn-tennis are practically universal; track athletics, boating, and lacrosse are next in order; while cricket and other games are played but little in American colleges. Tennis is the game which makes the strongest claim for genuine popularity. Its clean and wholesome nature, its moderate demands upon the strength of the player, and its sufficiency as exercise, give it a high place in the list of games. Its weak point is its comparatively private character. It takes no place as a factor in class or in college life; it enlists no large number in its games; it has no gregarious, no communal force. This is a serious lack. Men need in college, as in citizenship, a focus. The town-meeting of the student-body is found on the athletic field.

Foot-ball has many claims for popularity. It has all the dubious but powerful attraction of a contest between man and man. This is an element in human nature which must be directed, since it cannot be suppressed. It shows itself in the competitions for honors and in oratory, in every form of sport, in every phase of human life, at the bar, the hustings. It is a force which may lead to mere envy, strife, or cheating, or may make men emulous of all virtue. Foot-ball, when properly played, is a school of morals and of manners. The man who loses his temper in the scrimmage will be surely outplayed. The man who plays an off-side and unfair game may at a

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critical moment lose the few yards which will give his opponents victory. As for the brutality of the game, the element of opinion intrudes here. I do not think it brutal. Its brutality will depend on the men who play it, the referees and umpires, the men who from year to year make rules for the game, and on the alumni and faculties who tacitly or otherwise approve the rules. This much must be admitted. Foot-ball is a game for boys or very young men, and it requires careful training for hard games. It may be, therefore, a dangerous game. It exposes younger men to injury from mature men. The untrained boy is out of place in the contest.

Is this necessarily an argument against the game? Certainly not. There are few sports which do not require some practice or training. It means, first, that if it is to remain a college sport it should be guarded on the one hand by excluding mature men,—in short, by a strict undergraduate rule; and on the other hand, by keeping back undeveloped boys,—for example, by refusing permission to members of the Freshman class to play match games. Again, there creep in from time to time phases of play which, while not at all brutal, are dangerous. Thus, the "wedge" is simply a test of pushing power. When the wedge breaks, the men are so entangled that sprains are of frequent occurrence. After playing the old open game in this country, I played the old-fashioned wedge game at Oxford, and was at once impressed with its clumsy and dangerous character. It was with the utmost regret, therefore, that I saw it introduced into American foot-ball, in a more effective and scientific form, but only rendered more dangerous thereby. Keep foot-ball to the undergraduates; eliminate the younger element of the Freshman class; have the medical director omnipotent in excluding boys weak in heart or suffering from strains; see that there are enough umpires to check sudden gusts of temper (boys are human, but should be taught the penalties of too much human nature), and not only enough umpires but men of resolute love for fair sport: do all this, and foot-ball is a game to hold to. Let professionalism creep in, let men take post-graduate courses in order to play foot-ball,—nay, even encourage graduates to play,—and the game may soon be tabooed.

Of base-ball, less need be said, though I am convinced that base-ball is a more serious problem within college walls than foot-ball. The special skill and the special danger of the positions of the pitcher and catcher make the temptation to professionalism greatest just there. A man brought to college to play in a position of this sort is

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a moral canker long before he is known; for some of these men are beyond detection at first, and, when known to some who ought to care more for college morals than for college games, are not always unmasked. More than this, base-ball has a longer period of training and a longer season, and more games played away from college. Foot-ball is played from about the first of October to the first of December; base-ball from the middle of January to the middle of June.

The time that such sports occupy may be only what is properly given to physical training. It may be half the day. In Lafayette College the time is practically just what is required in the gymnasium, and at the same hours. The loss of time is more in the talk and discussion which spring up around a topic of absorbing interest. A foot-ball season, for this reason, may become as bad as a presidential election to the country at large. Ordinarily, however, this is no great evil, and foot-ball is a better subject for social talk than some things that used to intrude into such coteries as now waste time over athletic possibilities. The real student is not distracted. The average college man, who will not "talk shop" any more than the average business man, is not materially injured.

When we come to consider the evil influences engendered by college athletics, we face a different condition of affairs. There is a great and crying need of reform. The sore spots are "foreign games" (games played away from the colleges) and gambling.

My personal convictions are that college games should be played on college grounds, and only on college grounds. Further than this it is not necessary to go, if training on the part of the team is what it should be; for it should be borne in mind that, if the players are well managed, it is not they, but the camp-followers, who are responsible for the dissipation which takes place after games; and I am confident that I am within bounds when I say that the more serious acts of a bad nature are caused by young alumni and former students. This latter class is a large and always an aggressive one, especially when they have been dismissed from college. The small colleges are not much troubled with the evil of "foreign" games. They feel, however, that their athletic interests suffer from the ill report which proceeds from the aftermath of the great city games. As a loyal alumnus of one of the great colleges which share the degradation of the disorder in New York on Thanksgiving night, I especially hope that Christian education may soon be cut off from any part in that awful desecration of a great national feast-day.

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And desecration it is. We think of the day as one set apart for the giving of thanks to God for national benefits. The memories connected with it make the home the first of these benefits: the Christian home with its self-respecting manhood and womanhood. Next to the home, citizenship is the most precious of these benefits, —free citizenship which imposes the duty of observing the law and proving the right of men to govern themselves. Upon such a day to find great institutions founded for the training of our young men in the highest manhood turning them loose upon our greatest city to lead it in a very carnival of vice, is shocking in the extreme. Make as much allowance as we can, we cannot excuse it. Streets ringing with rowdy cries; theatres stormed and interrupted; houses which no young man should ever enter—saloons, dance-halls, and worse—thronged with excited, overwrought young men, who would never have come in contact with such scenes but for the conditions of this day,—are such circumstances the proper avenues to happy homes and useful lives, or the first acts in lives of temptation and vice? Not all are college men,—not a majority, not even a large minority, it may be; but without the college element, without the fluttering ribbon of blue, or crimson, or orange and black, without the college game, the Lord of Misrule would not walk the streets this night.

And how much gambling in and out of college is caused by these great games? In college the feeling with most men is sober, and opposed to the thought that lies at the basis of gambling, whether it be the calculating desire to get something for nothing, or the reckless desire for excitement. But in the hotel corridor, on the field, or in a shouting crowd of irresponsible unknown men or rivals there is only character to steady the half-developed boy. A bluff, a taunt,—and the bet is made that eventually makes one man a gambler and deprives another of his proper spending-money for months. And then it is surely a shame to feel and know that a college game is as much a gamblers' field as a race-track.

The question of gambling concerns the small colleges but little. Few men learn to gamble where they have nothing to stake. Poverty is a blessing in such a case. More money changes hands, it is said, on the Thanksgiving game of foot-ball, than all the boys at many a college of three to four hundred students spend in a year. Gambling is a universal vice, however, and a most fatal one. Anything which tends to lessen it will be a boon to the country.

What has been said of gambling applies also to the question of

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gate-money. It is the lack of money which seems to our struggling colleges to be the root of all evil. They stand agape when they learn from the public press that the income from the Thanksgiving game of foot-ball is greater than the total annual expenditure of their trustees for the support of twenty-five professors and the education of three hundred boys. What does this imply? A wild extravagance in athletic outfits, in travelling with special cars and stopping at expensive hotels, in hiring trainers,—an extravagance which communicates itself to the smaller colleges and leads them dishonestly to contract bills for athletic supplies which they can never pay.

Public opinion demands that there shall be an end to this. The way to stop it is to play all games on college grounds. Not only must the games be played on college grounds, but on such college grounds as have about them the college atmosphere. A city ground used by a college will never have this. How many parents have read with wonder, and alarm for their boys, of teams going to Springfield several days before the game, and of the preparations there? How many have wondered why it was that, despite a widely published proclamation requiring students to report at one college at midnight on Thanksgiving, or at noon on Friday at latest, that the team remained at a New York hotel till Monday, and then returned in a triumphal procession? Had the team ceased to be students? Or were they, as some newspapers said, too battered and bruised to return? If the former, why? If the latter, then the game as played is brutal, and its grave should be prepared.

Whose is the responsibility? Let us not shirk our share. College life is as important as college learning. The teaching which instructs the mind, but leaves the man an uninformed and half developed being, is radically wrong somewhere. No college can say, "We *teach* the students, and our responsibility ends there." The colleges must be tried, as other institutions are tried, by their fruits. Wise parents expect their sons to be taught by example as well as precept, and to be made men as well as bachelors of arts.

There are, therefore, real abuses connected with these games. But shall we abandon the manly features or reform the abuses? It is a question for the large universities to answer. The smaller colleges will be able to hold their boys within bounds for the present. The small college is still democratic. Its president and faculty and students are still the closely knit fabric of a simpler time. There are no distinctions of rank and wealth. The president relies on the

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love of the boys, and wins it by seeking to aid them in all right ways. No high wall of affairs shuts him off from them; no intrusive demands of the outside world draw them away from him. The influx and efflux of a great university make the voice of the public more potent. What are the people saying?

(1) *Foot-ball is become too dangerous; accidents too serious.* Let the colleges heed the cry. Let the alumni and faculties put on foot a radical revision of the rules. Let games be only between college *boys*. The Eton-Harrow cricket-match is a greater function in England than any university match. Everywhere the youth of a country are dearer and more influential than the brutal manhood. Make foot-ball a fine sport of manly boys, and there will be fewer prize-fighters, "toughs," and men of doubtful character at the games, but more mothers and sisters and wise and prudent gentlemen. Drive out the professionalism, bring in the spirit of fair play, and revive a love for the distinctive spirit of each college's own breeding.

(2) *Games in great cities have become the occasion, if not the cause, of vice.* Let games, then, be on college grounds. Then if this or that college cannot, or will not, suppress drinking and gambling, it will remain with public sentiment to decide whether they deserve support or not.

Let us all, as citizens, as well as teachers or preachers, seek to build character on a sound basis. Let us relegate every brutal sport to the limbo to which our Puritan forefathers sent bear-baiting and dog-fighting, and to which we are trying to relegate the survivors of such barbarities, as prize-fighting. But do not let us lose our heads and throw away our manly sports. We might as well abandon a democratic form of government because Tammany Hall has grown up under it. Reform, and not destruction, is the need of the hour. What we need is to combine to urge the naturally studious to cultivate their bodies; the naturally vigorous in body, to cultivate their minds. Such efforts will only partly succeed. But instead of the sharp line between the stoop-shouldered student and the riotous or negligent loafer, there is now a large and well-ordered majority of men who study well and take a reasonable amount of physical exercise. As college elocution centres on contests in oratory and debate, as college literary work centres on college papers and college essay-prizes, so college athletics centres on teams and match-games. Prizes and teams and match-games all have their evils, evils of distraction and attraction; but they are indispensable until some better plan of stimulating and perpetuating effort is devised. ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

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WRITERS IN THE JANUARY FORUM.

MR. DAVID A. WELLS (*The Teachings of our Recent Economic Experiences*) was born in Springfield, Mass., in 1828, and was graduated at Williams College in 1847. After a brief experience on the editorial staff of the "Springfield Republican," he took the scientific course at Harvard as a special pupil of Louis Agassiz. He was an assistant at Harvard and a teacher of science at Groton until 1857. During the next few years he compiled several scientific works whch won for him a wide reputation. In 1864 he published a political essay entitled "Our Burden and Our Strength," that created much discussion both in America and Europe. In 1867 he made investigations in Europe as a member of a Governmental commission sent to study industrial conditions. He has since been a member of several Governmental commissions, and has written voluminously on economic subjects. Mr. Wells is easily the foremost student of economics, especially taxation, now living in the United States. His greatest work is "Recent Economic Changes."

THE HON. WILLIAM L. WILSON (*The Principle and Method of the New Tariff Bill*), born in Virginia in 1843, was educated at Columbian College, District of Columbia, and at the University of Virginia. For several years he held a professorship in Columbian College, which he resigned in order to practise law. In 1882 he became president of West Virginia University, and resigned the next year to enter Congress. He has been several times re-elected. He presided over the last Democratic National Convention. He is a man of scholarly attainments, an authority on political and economic subjects, and he has a high reputation as a legislator, being now Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

SENATOR GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR (*Sumner*) was born in Concord, Mass., in 1826, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1846, and from the Harvard Law School in 1849. He served in the House of Representatives from 1868 to 1876, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1876. Since that time he has occupied a conspicuous place among the Republican leaders in the Senate. He has written much on political and kindred topics for the magazines.

MR. SYDNEY G. FISHER (*Has Immigration Dried up our Literature?*), born in Philadelphia in 1856, was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, in 1879. He studied law at the Harvard Law School, was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1883, and has practised there ever since. He has been active in Civil Service Reform, and he is the author of a number of essays on legal and historical subjects, among them "The Independence of the Departments of Government," "The Suspension of *Habeas Corpus* During the War of the Rebellion," "The Causes of the Increase of Divorce," and "The Railroad Leases to Control the Anthracite Coal Trade."

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WRITERS IN THE DECEMBER FORUM.

THE REV. G. MONROE ROYCE (*The Decline of the American Pulpit*), sometime Rector of the American Episcopal Church in Florence, Italy, was graduated at the Union Theological Seminary in 1878. He is the author of a series of articles on "London Preachers," which were published in the "Independent" in 1885–86–87. He has been a contributor to the "Christian Union" ("The Outlook"); the "Churchman"; the "North American Review," and many other publications; and he is the author of several successful books. Mr. Royce is now resident in New York.

PROFESSOR LINDLEY MILLER KEASBEY (*The New Sectionalism.—A Western Warning to the East*), was born at Newark, N. J., twenty-six years ago; was educated at Harvard College and at the Columbia School of Political Economy, and studied afterward at Strasburg, where he took the degree of R. P. D. (*Rerum Politicarum Doctor*). He has for several years been a contributor to economic periodicals. He was assistant in Economics at Columbia College, and is now Professor of Economic and Political History in the State University of Colorado. During his studies both in the United States and in Europe he made a special investigation of monetary problems, and since his residence in Colorado he has given particular attention to opinions and conditions in the Rocky Mountain section of the country.

MR. DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON (*Are Morals Improving or Deteriorating?*) was born in Montpelier, Vt., in 1850; was graduated at Amherst in 1869; and was admitted to the bar in New York in 1872. He is the author of "A System of Psychology," "The Problem of Evil an Introduction to the Practical Sciences, "The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind," "Social Progress"; and, among other books, "Politics in a Democracy," recently published. Mr. Thompson is a distinguished student of social and moral problems.

MR. AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD (*Directions and Volume of our Literary Activities*), born in 1825, became in 1861 First Assistant-Librarian of Congress at Washington, and three years later Librarian. His able administration of affairs of the library for more than a quarter of a century has made for him a wide reputation. He is a member of many historical and philosophical societies, and is the foremost authority in the country on subjects akin to the matter he treats in this number of THE FORUM.

MR. WILLIAM WETHERELL (*British Investors and American Currency Legislation*), born in 1844, was educated privately, and entered journalism in Liverpool in 1872. He is Assistant Editor of The Liverpool "Daily Post," a member of the Chartered Institute of Journalists, and a well-informed and well-known writer on politics, finance, trade and commerce, and industrial and social subjects.

MR. GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM (*Healthful Results of the Copyright Law*) was born in London, April 2, 1844. He was educated at Columbia College, New York, and at Göttingen. He is the head of the well-known publishing firm of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, which was founded by his father. He has been an active advocate of international copyright, and has written much on this and kindred subjects. He is the author of "Authors and Publishers" (1882) and of "The Question of Copyright" (1891).

MR. JACOB A. RIIS (*A Christmas Reminder of the Noblest Work in the World*) was born in Denmark in 1849, and educated in the old Latin School of Ribe, in Denmark, where his father was a master. He came to this country in 1869, worked for several years at whatever came to hand, and eventually became a reporter for a news agency. In 1878 he was sent as a member of the staff of the

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New York "Tribune" to Police Headquarters, where he has been ever since; for the past few years collecting police news for the "Evening Sun." His work gave him material for his magazine articles on the poor in New York which formed the bases of his two books, "How the Other Half Lives" and "The Children of the Poor,"—the last named recently published. During the past few years he has lectured frequently on the subject of poverty, and he is perhaps the best-informed man on his special group of subjects in New York.

DR. DANIEL BENNETT ST. JOHN ROOSA (*Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?*) was born in Bethel, Sullivan Co., N. Y., on the 4th of April, 1838. After studying at Yale, he became a special student of chemistry under Dr. John W. Draper in New York city; he was graduated at the Medical Department of the University of New York in 1860, and became resident physician in the New York Hospital in 1862. He studied abroad in 1863, and in 1864 settled in practice in New York. He was Professor of the Diseases of the Eye and Ear in the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York from 1863 till 1882. He founded the Manhattan Eye and Ear Hospital in New York. Dr. Roosa is one of the most distinguished and successful practitioners and surgeons in the United States. He was president of the International Otological Society in 1876, and of the New York State Medical Society in 1879. Yale gave him the honorary degree of A.M. in 1872, and the University of Vermont that of LL.D. in 1880. He is the author of a number of medical works.

PRESIDENT JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN (*Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?*) was born in Freetown, Prince Edward Island, on the 22d of May, 1854, and was graduated at London University in 1877. He was Professor of Philosophy and English Literature in Acadia College, Nova Scotia, in 1880–82, and in Dalhousie College, Halifax, in 1882–86, and was elected honorary life governor of University College, London, in 1884. After several years' service in the faculty of Cornell University, he became President of that institution two years ago. He has published "Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution" (London, 1881); "The Ethical Import of Darwinism" (New York, 1887); and "A People's University," the founder's day address (Ithaca, 1888). He is a regular contributor to the "Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie" in Berlin.

PRESIDENT JAMES BURRILL ANGELL (*Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?*) was born in Scituate, R. I., on the 7th of January, 1829. He was graduated at Brown University in 1849, and spent some time in Europe studying and travelling. On his return in 1853 he was appointed professor of modern languages and literature in the university at which he was graduated. In 1860 he became editor of the Providence "Daily Journal," and in 1866 was called to the Presidency of the University of Vermont. In 1871 he became President of the University of Michigan, an office he has since filled except during the years 1880–81, which he spent in China as Minister from the United States, and also as chairman of a Special Commission appointed to negotiate a treaty with China. He has contributed many articles to periodical literature, and is an authority not only on educational subjects, but on international law.

PRESIDENT ETHELBERT DUDLEY WARFIELD (*Are Foot-Ball Games Educative or Brutalizing?*) studied at Princeton and at Oxford (Eng.) University, and, after graduation, pursued abroad a special line of historical research. He was for several years president of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in which position he did much successful work, and a few years ago was called to fill a similar post at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. In 1887 he published "The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798," a historical study.

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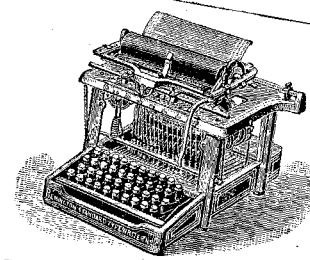

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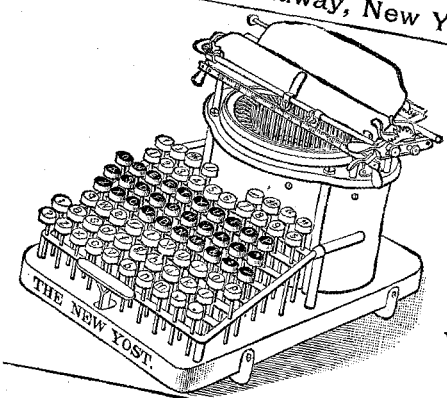

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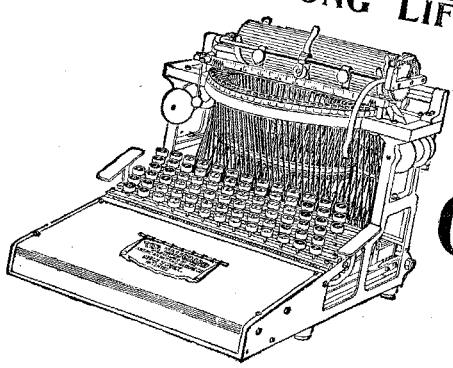

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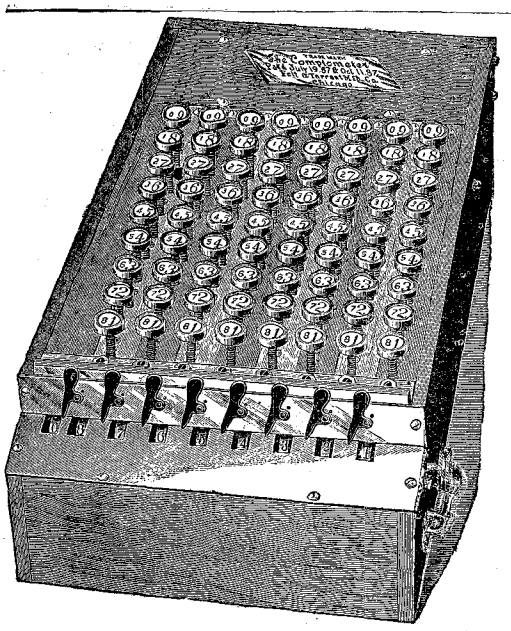

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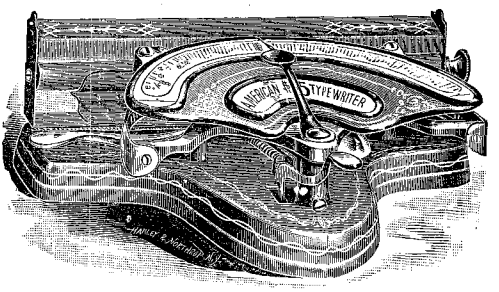

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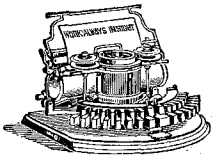

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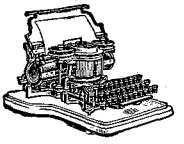

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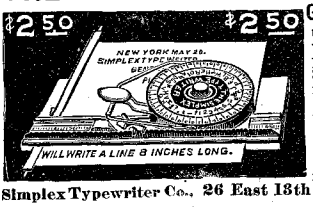

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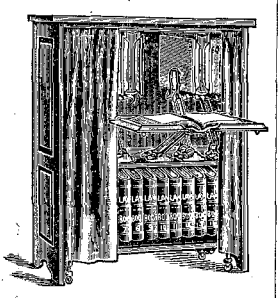

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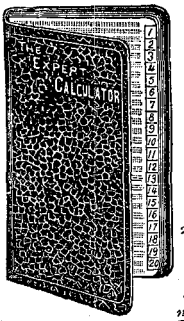

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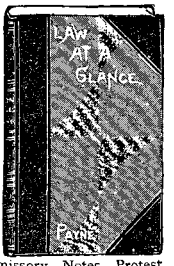

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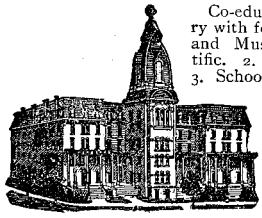

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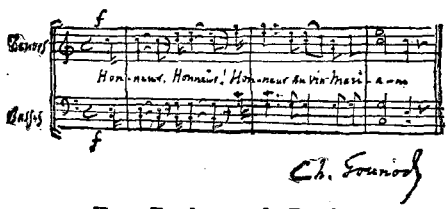

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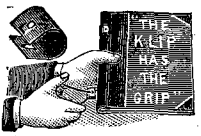

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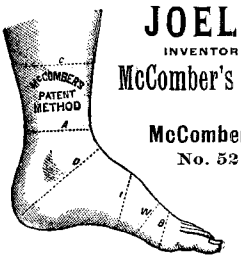

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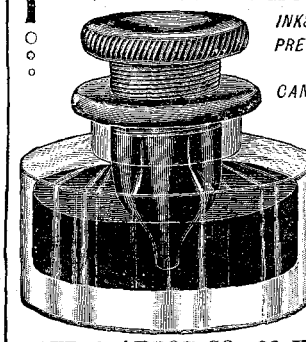

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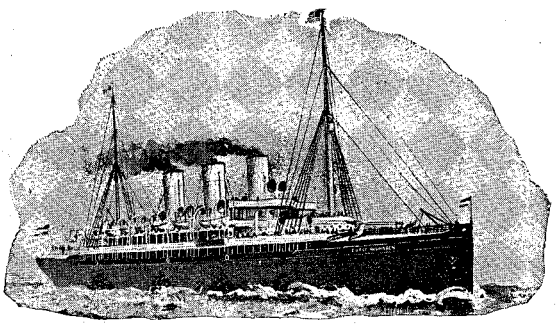

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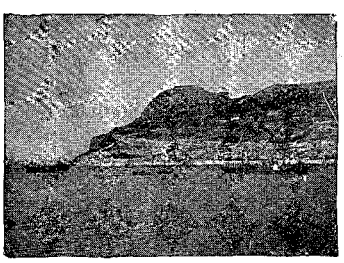

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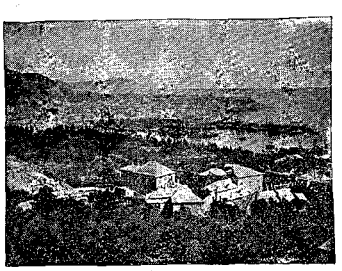

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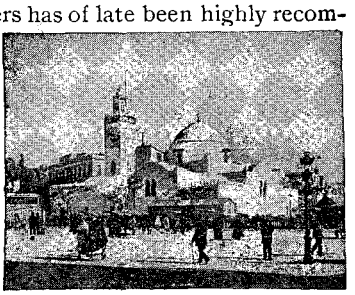

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spectacles of all kinds. . . . There are French hotels in Algiers, besides others not French. The French government keeps good order there.

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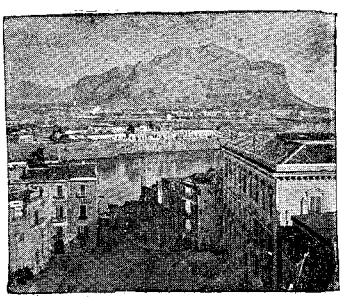
There are health resorts along the coast, at which invalids get well. It is the best place in North Africa for a tourist."

Of *Naples* and its vicinity, of the grand Vesuvius, and the beautiful islands Ischia and Capri it is hardly necessary to speak. Neither need we enter at length into a description of the magnificent *Genoa*, or point out the many attractions of the lakes and cities of upper Italy. Travelers who wish to go to Switzerland, to Tyrol, to the Riviera, or to the South of France will find Genoa the most convenient starting-point.



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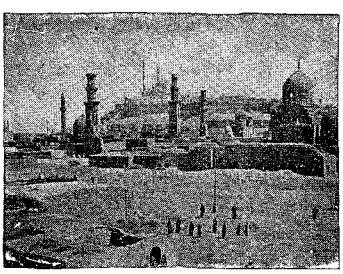

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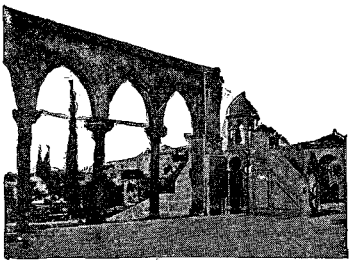

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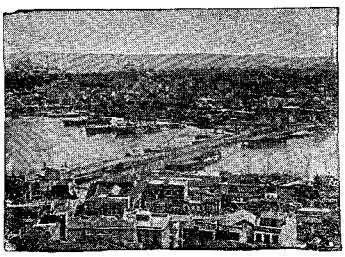

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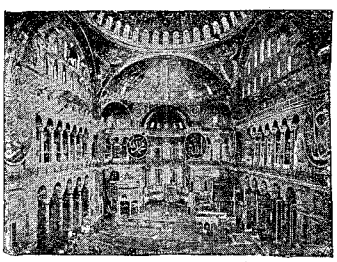

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VOL. II -1894- NO. 5

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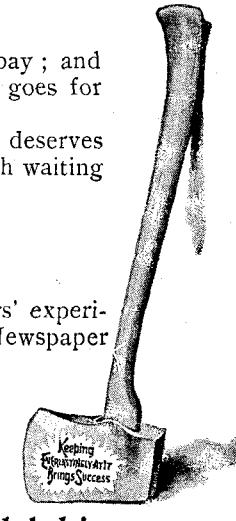

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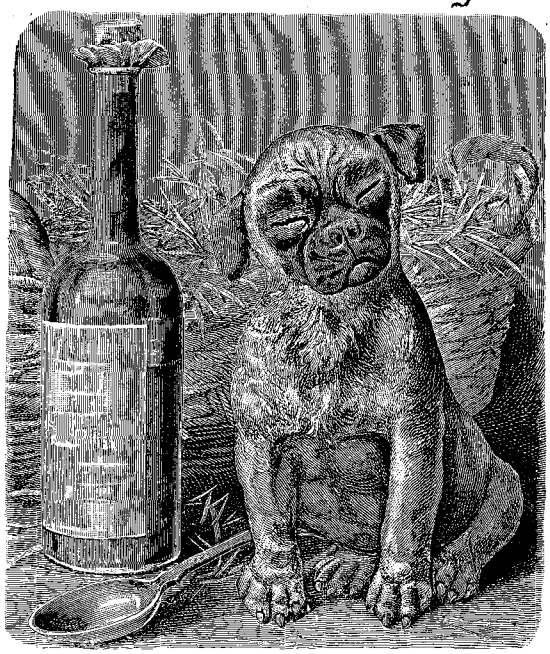

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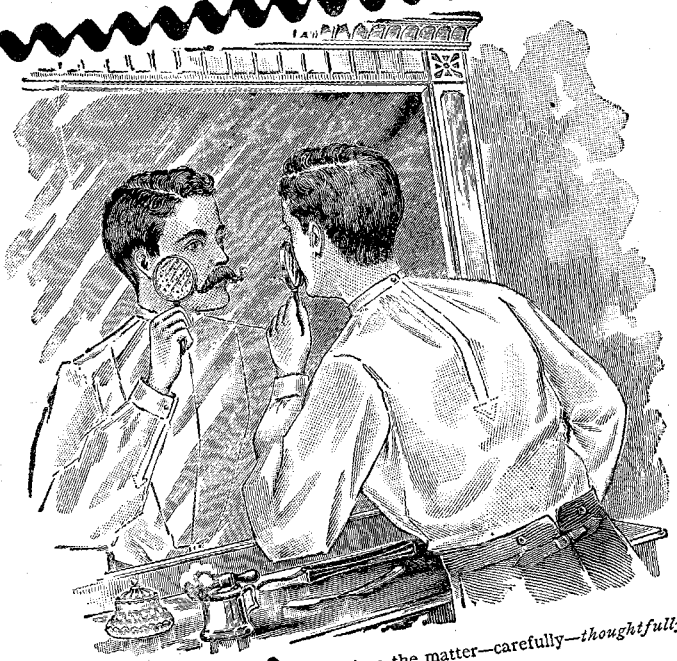

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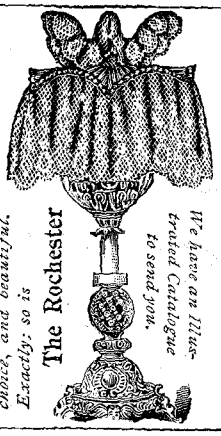

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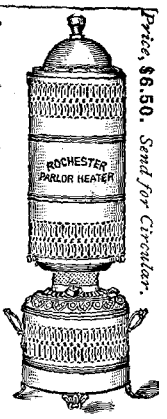

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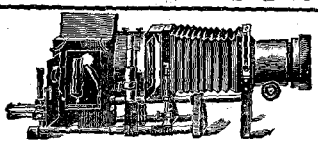

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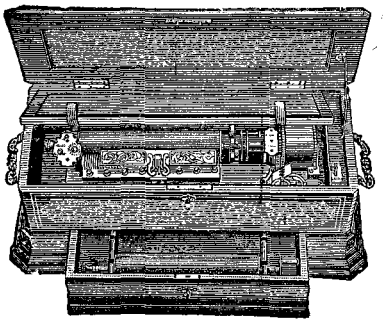

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brings comfort and improvement, and tends to personal enjoyment, when rightly used. The many, who live better than others and enjoy life more, with less expenditure, by more promptly adapting the world's best products to the needs of physical being, will attest the value to health of the pure liquid laxative principles embraced in the remedy

SYRUP OF FIGS

Its excellence is due to its presenting, in the form most acceptable and pleasant to the taste, the refreshing and truly beneficial properties of a perfect laxative, effectually cleansing the system, dispelling Colds, Headaches and Fevers, and permanently curing Constipation. It has given satisfaction to millions, and met with the approval of the medical profession, because it acts on the Kidneys, Liver and Bowels without weakening them, and it is perfectly free from every objectionable substance. Syrup of Figs is for sale by all druggists in 50 cent and $1.00 bottles, but it is manufactured by the CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO. only, whose name is printed on every package, also the name Syrup of Figs; and, being well informed, you will not accept any substitute if offered.

CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO.,

San Francisco, Cal.
Louisville, Ky.
New York, N. Y.

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